Volume 13, No. 1 January, 1985

R5685-4

FOCUS

MINORITIES AND MILITARY RECRUITMENT

Will the military's solutions to recruiting problems shut out minority candidates?

THE URBAN COMMUTER

Blacks rely on public transportation for the journey to work much more heavily than whites-regardless of income, automobile ownership or direction of travel.

The Joint Center invites applications for its Distinguished Scholars Program.

ISSN 0740-0195 Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

I neither can nor will recant anything, since it is neither right nor safe to act against conscience. Here I stand. I can do no other.

Martin Luther, the devout and controversial German churchman, chose these words for his own epitaph. The spirit they express characterizes another Martin Luther as well—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. whose birth we celebrate this month. Dr. King, too, stood his ground, and he could do no other in the struggle against bigotry and injustice. Clear vision, courage, and determination were the hallmarks of his life.

We can all gain strength from his courage, first observed in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 and seen last in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968. That thirteen year span changed and continues to change the life of our nation. We owe Dr. King thanks for his victories on so many fronts: the Montgomery bus boycott; the right to public accommodations; voting rights; and equal employment opportunity.

I am especially grateful to Dr. King for the political legacy he left. His memory challenges each of us to pursue equal justice through the power of politics, and calls upon those who can to wield the force of public office in the service of this same goal. It challenges us to believe, and to *behave* as if we believed, one of his dearest tenets: that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." Dr. King recognized, as others before him had, that in America political participation is the shortest road to power-sharing and to improvement of the human condition.

He envisioned a nonviolent "revolution of values" driven by direct political action "powerful enough, dramatic enough, morally appealing enough, so that people of good will, churches, labor, liberals, intellectuals, students, poor people themselves would begin to put pressure on congressmen" to achieve the goals of a just society. This strategy is as old as America and as American as apple pie; what is new is its use to pursue the hopes and aspirations of black people.

Martin Luther King gave focus and leadership to the struggle for political empowerment. Whether the cause was education, food, jobs, or the right to sit in a restaurant or take any seat on a bus, the objective was always the same: to achieve true equality and justice; to be heard, respected, and taken seriously; to sit in the legislative and executive chambers and take part in the decisions about who gets what, when, and how in our society. And Dr. King knew well the difference between simply writing new laws into the books and implementing them. Implementation was clearly his goal and the goal to which he wanted black people to direct their political activity.

Since he died, Dr. King's dream has begun to become reality. Street politics has moved indoors—into Congress, into state houses, into city halls. Every year since Dr. King's death the number of black elected officials nationwide has risen. No, the civil rights movement he breathed so much life into has not died. Its leaders are *sitting in*—as elected officials—at meetings of other elected officials, and they are *marching*—as executives—into executive suites.

These changes are occurring too slowly, and worry and unease still shadow the lives of blacks and the poor generally. Too many black people still live on the economic margin of existence; the nation continues to waste talent through prejudice and discrimination; and we are required still to fight continually for quality education. We have yet to reach the promised land described so eloquently by Dr. King, but perseverence and the splendid example of his leadership have delivered us to this station from which we cannot turn back.

So I celebrate the birth of Martin Luther King, the human catalyst for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, with a plea for aggressive political participation. I ask this not only to honor Dr. King and the legacy he left us, but because it represents the most effective method of empowering the disadvantaged and giving voice to the voiceless. Each of us must be willing to say—as Martin Luther said in his epitaph and Dr. King in his actions—"Here I stand. I can do no other."

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Minorities and Military Recruitment

by James R. Daugherty

(Colonel Daugherty is a senior fellow at the Joint Center on a one-year assignment from the U.S. Army under an on-going agreement between JCPS and the U.S. Department of Defense.)

"The All-Volunteer Force will continue to work well if it is properly supported," according to the Military Manpower Task Force, which reported to the president in November 1982 on the status and prospects of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). Chaired by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, the group analyzed the ability of the nation to sustain an able fighting force through 1987. Its predictions were extremely optimistic; in fact, only in an appendix did it acknowledge the recruiting problems posed by the declining youth population, the economic recovery, and the implementation of a plan, now under consideration, to increase the size of the Armed Forces.

These problems, however, are imminent. Recent success in recruiting was made possible primarily by the largest pool of candidates in history. In 1979, there were more 18-year-olds than at any time before, but now the baby boom has moved beyond the 18-to-21-year-old age group. In 1995, there will be four million fewer people in that age group than in 1981. Even if annual recruit requirements remain the same as in 1984, the armed forces will have to recruit some 55 percent of the qualified and available male population to fill its ranks (see table). This is a significant increase over the 42 percent needed in 1981.

These recruiting problems have distinct racial implications—as do the measures being considered to solve them. At present, minorities make up 26 percent of our 2.1 million member active duty force—a disproportionate representation attributable largely to limited opportunities for minority youth in the private sector. Nineteen percent of the active duty force is black. The effect on minorities of future military manpower policies, therefore, deserves serious attention, especially since the military is an important avenue of advancement for a group that suffers extremely high unemployment rates.

One interesting statistic: as the number of 18-to-21 year olds falls between now and 1995, the proportion of minorities within this group will rise from 16.6 to 19.4 percent. Thus the proportion of minorities in the military's recruitment pool will be greater, making it likely—all other things being equal—that minority representation in the service will also increase.

Other developments, though, may reduce the proportion of minorities in the military, and these trends must be dealt with as the services strive to meet their recruitment goals. To be sure, providing more openings for those who prefer military careers does not eliminate the need to increase opportunities in the society at large so young blacks do not regard the armed forces as their sole option. But this is the subject of another article; here, we are concerned with the effect on minorities of the military recruiting problems over the next few decades.

The Effects of Long-Term Trends

A continuing economic recovery would increase military opportunities for minorities. Current economic indicators point to a long-term decline in unemployment. As unemployment rates drop, white youths become less inclined to volunteer for military service (their prospects in the civilian economy improve more rapidly than those of minorities). The result is a corresponding increase in opportunity for minorities in the military.

Increasing competition from colleges for recent high school graduates could also increase military opportunities for minorities. Colleges vie for the same cohort as the military and will be hard-pressed to fill their classrooms as the number of young people declines. To maintain enrollment, colleges will make strenuous efforts to attract students. Many minority youth will benefit from this increased attention, but whites may be more likely to answer the call from higher education. By removing whites from the available manpower pool, colleges' efforts will increase the military's reliance on minority recruits.

Stricter qualification requirements, on the other hand, would lessen military opportunities for minorities. We all know of the unprecedented modernization of the armed forces and the introduction of sophisticated new weapons systems. This modernization has brought about a shift from work requiring general skills to jobs requiring special expertise in computer electronics, medical technology, and other fields. It is estimated that the Air Force will need one-third more recruits by the end of the century with high aptitudes for electronics skills. By 1986, Navy "semi-technical" positions are expected to increase by 13 percent over 1981, "techinical" positions by 16 percent, and "highly technical" jobs by 31 percent. Army futures are being studied. And these trends are likely to accelerate.

As the roster of technical jobs grows, the pool of youth scoring sufficiently high on technical tests may not meet the demand. Furthermore, minorities as a group currently score lower on entrance tests than whites, particularly in qualifying tests for technical training. The *Profile of American Youth* report showed that while 78 percent of white youths score in categories I, II, and III on the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT), only 28 percent of blacks and 41 percent of Hispanics did. Should the services recruit from these categories only, 72 percent of blacks would be excluded. Congress has mandated that not more than 20 percent of enlistees be from category IV; in 1984, 7 percent came from this category. Any raising of entrance standards or increase in high-tech jobs (and corresponding decrease in other jobs) will reduce the qualified minority population more sharply than the qualified white population.

Just as these societal trends will affect blacks and whites differently, so too will the options being considered by the military to maintain its recruiting ability.

Possible Solutions

In *American Volunteer Military: Progress and Prospects*, Martin Binkin, an expert on defense policy at the Brookings Institution, suggests several ways to prevent recruitment shortages in the face of shifting demographic and economic trends. Among the options he discusses:

- spend more money on compensation and recruiting;

- turn over more military jobs to civilians;
- increase the role and numbers of women; and
- lower entry standards.

Each of these options is workable, but their different effects on the racial composition of the armed forces should be considered.

Compensation and recruiting monies attract whites. The Military Manpower Task Force regards compensation equal to that in the private sector as vital to the success of the All-Volunteer Force. They urge pay and allowance, selective bonus, and education packages to attract the best candidates. Although minorities would benefit from these enticements, they will enlist at high levels without them. The qualified minority manpower pool has already been heavily recruited: 46 percent of eligible minority males are now in the military. On the other hand, only 16 percent of qualified white youth are in the service, so the greatest effect of increased compensation and recruiting funds would be to attract more whites.

Turning over military jobs to civilians takes military jobs from minorities. As the number of candidates for recruitment declines, some military jobs could be given over to the civilian work force. The jobs most appropriate for transfer are in service support fields, such as administration, maintenance, supply, food service, and transportation—the very fields in which minorities are highly concentrated. In the Army, for example, where blacks are 31.3 percent of all service people, they are overrepresented in such fields as administration (42 percent), food service (43 percent), petroleum handling (58 percent) and supply (52 percent). Such a change would not reduce the total number of jobs in the military—personnel strength would be shifted to other fields—but it would reduce the number of military jobs for which minorities qualify. A portion of the transferred jobs would probably go to black civilians, but the removal from the military of so many occupations traditionally held by minorities might make it more difficult for young blacks to find a place in the armed services.

As the proportion of women increases, the overall proportion of racial minorities decreases. It is widely acknowledged that women were the saving grace of the AVF in the 1970s. They may be again. Any increase in the military role of women, however, could significantly reduce the number of black men eligible for recruitment. White women generally outscore black men on military qualifying tests, so active recruitment of 18-to-21-year-old women—who have not been sought out in great numbers up to now—would probably displace many black men. In addition, women tend to compete for the same service support slots as minorities.

As the female population in the service increases, though, the proportion of minority women increases at an even faster rate. Of the 196,000 women now in the military (9.3 percent of the total), 32.4 percent are minorities. Seven years ago (1978) this figure was 24.7 percent. Thus, an increased reliance on women could increase opportunities for black women while decreasing them for black men.

Lowering entry standards increases minority opportunities. Should the number of new recruits fall precipitously and the country be unprepared to support conscription, the services may be forced to lower their entry standards as they did in the 1970s. Lowering these standards would allow recruitment of many minority candidates who now fall below the cut-off line, thereby increasing the proportional representation of minorities.

Binkin concludes that if the shrinking of the youth population coincides with a demand for a substantially larger or more skilled military force, the armed forces would have to recruit an extremely high percentage of qualified candidates. Adjusting military pay or tinkering with manpower policies probably could not prevent serious recruitment shortfalls. Binkin argues that unless America is willing to support the draft, expansion of the armed forces or development of more complicated weapons may be imprudent. "Otherwise," he writes, "the United States could end up fielding military forces in the 1990s whose effectiveness would depend on a military draft, only to find a citizenry unwilling to support it."

Currently, few of the nation's political leaders are willing to support a return to the draft. President Reagan has declared his support for the All-Volunteer Force on many occasions. Of the eight candidates for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination, only one—Senator Ernest Hollings—supported conscription. There are no indications that opinions will change in the next few years.

However, as the armed forces try to meet their recruitment goals in the face of the trends mentioned above, some tinkering with the AVF will inevitably occur. As these adjustments are being considered, policy makers should pay attention to the ways various options affect opportunities for blacks and other minorities. Nearly one out of every 12 black male workers between 18 and 21 years old is in the military, making the armed services a major source of employment and income for black Americans. As the task force noted, one of the reasons for this is that "military service offers blacks better opportunities for responsible work at fair compensation than are available to them in many segments of the private sector." Military policy makers cannot base their decisions on this consideration, but neither can they be indifferent to it.

Proportion of Qualified and Available Males Required for Military Service, 1981-95

Thousands unless otherwise indicated

Category	Annual average 1981-83	1991-95
Total eighteen-year-old males	**2,049**	**1,637**
Minus: Nonavailable	626	489
Institutionalized	31	25
College enrollees less first- or second-year dropouts	595	464
Minus: Unqualified	576	461
Mental	363	291
Physical or moral	213	170
Equals: Qualified and available male pool	**847**	**687**
Total male recruit requirements	**354**	**376**
Percent of pool required	**42**	**55**

Source: Martin Binkin, *America's Volunteer Military* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1984), p. 35.

The Urban Commuter

by William P. O'Hare

(Dr. O'Hare is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Black people who live in urbanized areas use public transportation at a higher than average rate, as do older workers, women, and the poor. (An urbanized area, as defined by the Census Bureau, contains a large central city, the densely settled inner suburbs that surround the central city, and a population of 50,000 or more.) Among black workers living in urbanized areas, 30.9 percent used public transportation for the worktrip in 1970 and 21.8 percent did so in 1980—nearly three times the rate for whites in both years. In 1980—the last year for which data are available—11.7 percent of the work force living in urbanized areas was black yet 26.7 percent of workers who lived in these areas and used public transportation were black. A number of theories for these pronounced black/white differences have been put forward, but none of them offer complete explanations for blacks' relatively high use of public transportation.

Why the Differences?

The heavy use of public transportation by blacks is often attributed to their relatively low economic status, which results in a low rate of auto ownership. Our data for workers living in urbanized areas in 1980 show that 20.1 percent of workers with a family income under $10,000 had no car available, compared to 5.9 percent for those with income between $10,000 and $20,000, 2.3 percent for those with income from $20,000 to $50,000, and only 1.2 percent of those with incomes over $50,000. Since blacks on average are poorer than whites, they are more likely to lack personal transportation. The 1980 census showed that 32.6 percent of all black households in the country did not have a car, compared to only 10.2 percent of white households. This means, of course, that proportionally more blacks must rely on public transportation for the journey to work.

Does the lower rate of auto ownership among blacks explain their higher dependence on mass transit? Not entirely. Even among blacks and whites with the same number of autos in their household, blacks show a higher proclivity to use public transportation. For example, in 1980, among households with no auto available, 61.6 percent of black workers in urbanized areas used mass transit compared to only 42.0 percent of whites. Among workers from households with at least one auto available, blacks use public transportation twice as frequently as whites. So although the lack of autos is a factor in blacks' higher use of public transportation for the worktrip, there are clearly other factors operating.

Some have suggested that one such factor is the different geographic location of blacks and whites within urbanized areas. Most blacks residing in urbanized areas live in central cities, and mass transit is more readily available in central cities than in inner suburbs where most whites live. In 1980, 41.6 percent of white workers residing in urbanized areas lived in central cities, compared to 71.8 percent of black workers who lived in urbanized areas.

The concentration of blacks in central cities, however, turns out not to be the reason they use public transportation so frequently. Even white residents of central cities use mass transit only half as often as black central city residents, and whites living in inner suburbs use public transportation less than half as often as blacks who live in the inner suburbs. In 1980, just over a quarter (25.6 percent) of black workers living in a central city used public transportation for the journey to work, compared to 11.0 percent of whites. Among workers living in the inner suburbs in 1980, 4.9 percent of the whites used mass transit for the worktrip, compared to 10.8 percent of blacks.

Blacks in the inner suburbs, therefore, were nearly as likely to use public transportation for the journey to work as whites in the central cities, so central city residence alone has little to do with the frequency of public transportation use. In 1980, 35.7 percent of central city blacks in the 25 largest urbanized areas used public transportation for the worktrip, compared to 23.2 percent of whites. In the inner suburbs of these 25 urbanized areas, blacks used mass transit at twice the rate of whites.

As one might imagine, given the residential distribution of blacks and whites within urbanized areas, the proportion of blacks and whites in each of six major commuter flows differs sharply (see table). This, too, has been offered as an explanation of their differing dependence on public transportation. For whites, the heaviest flow took place outside of central cities in both 1970 and 1980. Over a third of white workers living in urbanized areas commuted from a home in an inner suburb to jobs outside the central city in both years. In contrast, the heaviest flow among blacks occurred inside central cities. In both 1970 and 1980, the majority of black workers lived and worked in a central city, but outside the central business district (CBD) of the central city.

But racial differences in commuter flows also failed to explain the different rates of mass transit use. When we examined the use of public transportation by blacks and whites in the six major commuter flows, we found that blacks were more likely than whites to use transit in each of the six flows. For example, among those who live in a central city and work in the CBD, the use of mass transit is relatively high for both blacks and whites, but it is substantially higher for blacks. In 1980, 44.1 percent of blacks living in a central city and working in a CBD used public transportation for the journey to work, compared to 30.5 percent of whites in this commuter flow.

In 1980, the proportion of blacks that used transit was at least six percentage points higher than the proportion of whites in all of the six flows except one. Among workers who lived in an inner suburb and worked in the CBD, blacks and whites used public transportation in nearly identical proportions—32.2 percent and 32.3 percent respectively.

Segregation, Transportation, and Economics

Of course, blacks and whites in urbanized areas are distributed differently between central cities and inner suburbs, and they are also racially isolated within these regions. Analyses of 1980 census data indicate that most big cities and their inner suburbs are still quite segregated and that little progress

toward residential racial integration has been made since 1970.

Blacks' residential isolation is only partially explained by their low income. Blacks and whites at the same income level seldom live in the same neighborhoods. Among blacks and whites of the same income levels, a higher proportion of blacks than whites live in central cities. Furthermore, residential isolation of blacks is not due to black preferences. When asked about the racial composition of a neighborhood where they would like to live, most blacks say they would prefer a racially integrated neighborhood. And despite a decade of rapid black suburbanization, in 1980 blacks made up only about 6 percent of the suburban population.

Dependence on public transportation combined with the distribution of blacks within urbanized areas has important economic consequences. John F. Kain, a Harvard economist, argues that one of the major obstacles to blacks' economic progress is their heavy concentration in central cities as the majority of new jobs for which they are qualified open up in the suburbs. Many analysts consider this mismatch a fundamental problem for black central-city residents. This problem, of course, stems from the lack of personal transportation combined with antiquated mass transit systems designed years ago to transport workers from the suburbs to jobs in the central city. These systems are of little help to inner-city blacks seeking transit to suburban job sites.

Before new public transportation systems are designed to resolve this problem, it is important to determine precisely the reasons that minorities, regardless of auto ownership or commuter flow, rely more heavily than whites on public transportation. Despite the numerous suggested explanations, we have yet to understand fully why this occurs. Perhaps a more detailed geographic division of urbanized areas would be helpful.

The categories "central city" and "inner suburb" are simply too broad to yield the kinds of distinctions—geographic, economic, and otherwise—that are important determinants of public transportation use. One telling indicator of this deficiency is the black/white difference in worktrip travel time.

Since most workers who live in an urbanized area hold jobs in a central city, one would expect blacks—who are far more concentrated in central cities than whites—to have shorter commutes, which would take less time. This is not the case. Information on distance to work was not collected in either the 1970 or the 1980 census, but data on travel time, collected in the 1980 census, show that blacks spend more time commuting than whites. The average worktrip for blacks living in urbanized areas was 27.1 minutes compared to 21.5 minutes for whites. Furthermore, the gap between the average worktrip travel time of blacks and whites was evident in each of the six commuter flows shown in the table.

Some might attribute blacks' higher average worktrip travel time to their greater reliance on mass transit, a relatively slow mode of transportation. The mean travel time for blacks, however, is higher than that for whites for all modes of transportation except railroads, which are used by only a small portion of workers. This suggests that the central city neighborhoods where blacks tend to live are generally more distant from the central city work sites than the neighborhoods favored by whites.

Clearly, there are significant distinctions among the neighborhoods within central cities and inner suburbs, and within their differences lie the answers to important questions about racial differences in the use of mass transit.

Distribution of black and white residents of urbanized areas, by commuting pattern, 1970 and 1980

	Whites		Blacks	
	1970	1980	1970	1980
Living in a central city	49.4%	41.6%	82.9%	71.8%
Traveling to a CBD	5.9	5.1	8.6	8.4
Traveling to a central city outside CBD	33.6	28.5	58.4	50.3
Traveling outside of a central city	9.9	7.9	16.0	13.1
Living in inner suburb	50.6	58.4	17.1	28.2
Traveling to a CBD	2.9	3.6	0.7	1.7
Traveling to a central city outside CBD	14.3	16.3	5.1	9.0
Traveling outside of a central city	33.5	38.6	11.4	17.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.
Note: Some columns may not add up owing to rounding.

Telescope

JCPS Eighth Annual Dinner

The Joint Center for Political Studies Eighth Annual Dinner will be held Thursday, March 21, 1985, at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. More than 1,500 people attended last year's dinner, which coincided with the Fourth National Policy Institute.

This year's dinner will feature Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, internationally known economist, as speaker. Clifton C. Garvin, Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of Exxon Corporation and chairman of the Business Roundtable, is national chairman of the dinner. Members of the dinner advisory committee are Thornton Bradshaw, chairman of RCA Corporation; Charles Brown, chairman of AT&T; John Filer, former chairman of Aetna Life and Casualty; Douglas Fraser, former president of the United Auto Workers; Reginald Jones, former chairman of General Electric Company; Donald Kendall, chairman of PEPSICO, Inc.; Robert Kirby, former chairman of Westinghouse Electric Corporation; Lane Kirland, president of the AFL-CIO; George Weissman, chairman of the executive committee, Philip Morris, Inc.; and Jerome Wiesner, president emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Tables and tickets are now available. Sponsors' tables of 10 are $5,000; patrons' tables of 10 are $2,000; individual tickets are $200. For further information or reservations, write or call Alfreda Edwards at the Joint Center, telephone 202 626-3555.

Florida Allows County Commissioner Elections by District

An amendment to Florida's constitution, passed overwhelmingly by the voters on November 6, 1984, gives each county the option of creating single-member districts to elect county commissioners. The constitution had required that county commissioners be elected at-large. Alzo J. Reddick, a state representative from Orlando, sponsored the amendment—the first amendment proposed by a black legislator to win statewide acceptance. Those who favor single-member districts believe they will provide a better chance of electing blacks to the county commissions.

The amendment is expected to generate some controversy because it does not mandate that counties create single-member districts; it only provides the option of doing so. Each county must decide individually—either by vote of the sitting commissioners or by petition—whether to create the districts. Linda Vogt, coordinator of the Florida Committee For a Better Community, a group active in pushing the district system of election, believes that in many counties, a change to the single-member district system will have to come by petition. Hence, she believes that advocates of the single-member districts will have to convince voters in each county of the fairness of the new option.

Army Promotes Record Number of Blacks to General

The U.S. Army recently announced the promotion of six blacks from colonel to brigadier general—the largest number of blacks promoted to general at any one time by any service. The six blacks are 9.4 percent of the 64 persons promoted to general.

The percentage of black generals in the Army had declined, from 6.3 percent in 1982 to 5.1 percent in 1984. The recent promotions will raise the percentage at least back to the 1982 level. Even with the decline, however, the Army's proportion of black generals remained considerably higher than that of the Air Force, with 1.5 percent; the Navy, with 0.8 percent; or the Marine Corps, with 1.5 percent.

Five of the six new black generals come from black institutions and one from the U.S. Military Academy. The new generals and their schools are: Wallace C. Arnold, Hampton Institute; Marvin D. Brailsford, Prairie View A&M University; Sherian G. Cadoria, Southern University and A&M College; Fred A. Gorden, United States Military Academy; Charles H. Hines, Howard University; and Alonzo E. Short, Jr., Virginia State University. Colonel Cadoria will be one of four female generals in the army, and the only black female general in any of the services.

Political Organizations Elect New Officers

Several organizations elected new officers at the end of last year.

At the National Black Republican Council convention, held in St. Louis on November 17, LeGree S. Daniels was reelected to a four-year term as chairperson. She had filled the term of James C. Cummings, Jr., the previous chairperson, when he resigned in 1982 to accept a federal appointment. Ms. Daniels served as chairperson of Blacks for Reagan-Bush during the 1984 campaign.

At the annual conference of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, held November 23 to 27 in Indianapolis, Robert Farrell, a Los Angeles councilmember, was elected president, replacing Donald Tucker. Farrell previously served as NBC/LEO's first vice president.

The Congressional Black Caucus selected Mickey Leland (D-TX) as chairman, replacing Julian Dixon (D-CA). Leland had previously served as the caucus' first vice chairman.

Blacks in the Executive Suite

A recent study of the 92 largest corporations in Chicago has found that blacks and other ethnic groups are "virtually absent from the upper echelons of Chicago's largest corporations." The report was written by Russell Barta, professor of social science at Mundelein College of Chicago, and published by the Institute of Urban Life in cooperation with the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs.

Conducted in 1983, the study found that while there were modest improvements over the results found in a similar study conducted in 1972, blacks, Poles, Hispanics, and Italians continue to be "grossly underrepresented" in the upper echelons of the corporate world, considering their proportions in the population. In 1983, only 5 percent of corporate directors and officers were black, Hispanic, Italian, or Polish, despite the fact that these ethnic groups constitute 47 percent of Chicago's population.

The study found that blacks are more underrepresented as corporate officers than as members of boards of directors; blacks comprise 20.1 percent of Chicago's population, hold 1.8 percent of the directorships, and 0.5 percent of the corporate offices. Blacks are most likely to be found in the executive suites of corporations directly serving the public, such as utilities, banks, and food companies.

Copies of the study entitled *Minority Report #2*, are available from the Institute of Urban Life, 14 East Chestnut Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60611, or the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, Box 33279, Washington, D.C. 20001. Single copies are $1.00, additional copies, 50 cents each.

Joint Center for Political Studies
Distinguished Scholars Program
Applications Invited

The Joint Center for Political Studies announces the establishment of a Distinguished Scholars Program under a grant from the MacArthur Foundation. The program will enable outstanding scholars and public policy analysts to spend up to one year in residence at the Joint Center in Washington, D.C., to conduct research on issues of fundamental importance to black Americans. During the first year of the program, 1985-86, one award carrying a stipend of up to $60,000 will be made.

The Joint Center is a national nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy research institution. Its research covers three broad areas—economic policy, social policy, and political participation. The Joint Center conducts demographic studies and maintains an extensive data bank on the social, economic, and political characteristics of black Americans.

The scholar selected will have great flexibility in planning a program of activities for the fellowship year. She/he will be expected to complete at least one major piece of publishable research on a topic of mutual interest to the scholar and the Joint Center. The scholar will also participate, as appropriate, in the Joint Center's on-going activities.

Eligible persons must have a record of substantial publication and distinguished work in their field. Special consideration will be given to the congruence between applicants' research interests and those of the Joint Center.

Applicants for 1985-86 should submit a curriculum vitae and a statement of no more than 2,500 words describing the project to be completed during their stay at the Joint Center and how their interests relate to the Joint Center's work. Applicants should arrange to have sent to the Joint Center two letters of support for the project indicating the candidate's ability to bring it to a successful completion. Applications must be postmarked no later than **February 22, 1985.** Finalists must be available for interview in Washington, D.C., early in March. Awards will be announced by March 31, 1985.

For further information, please contact:

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Volume 13, No. 3

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

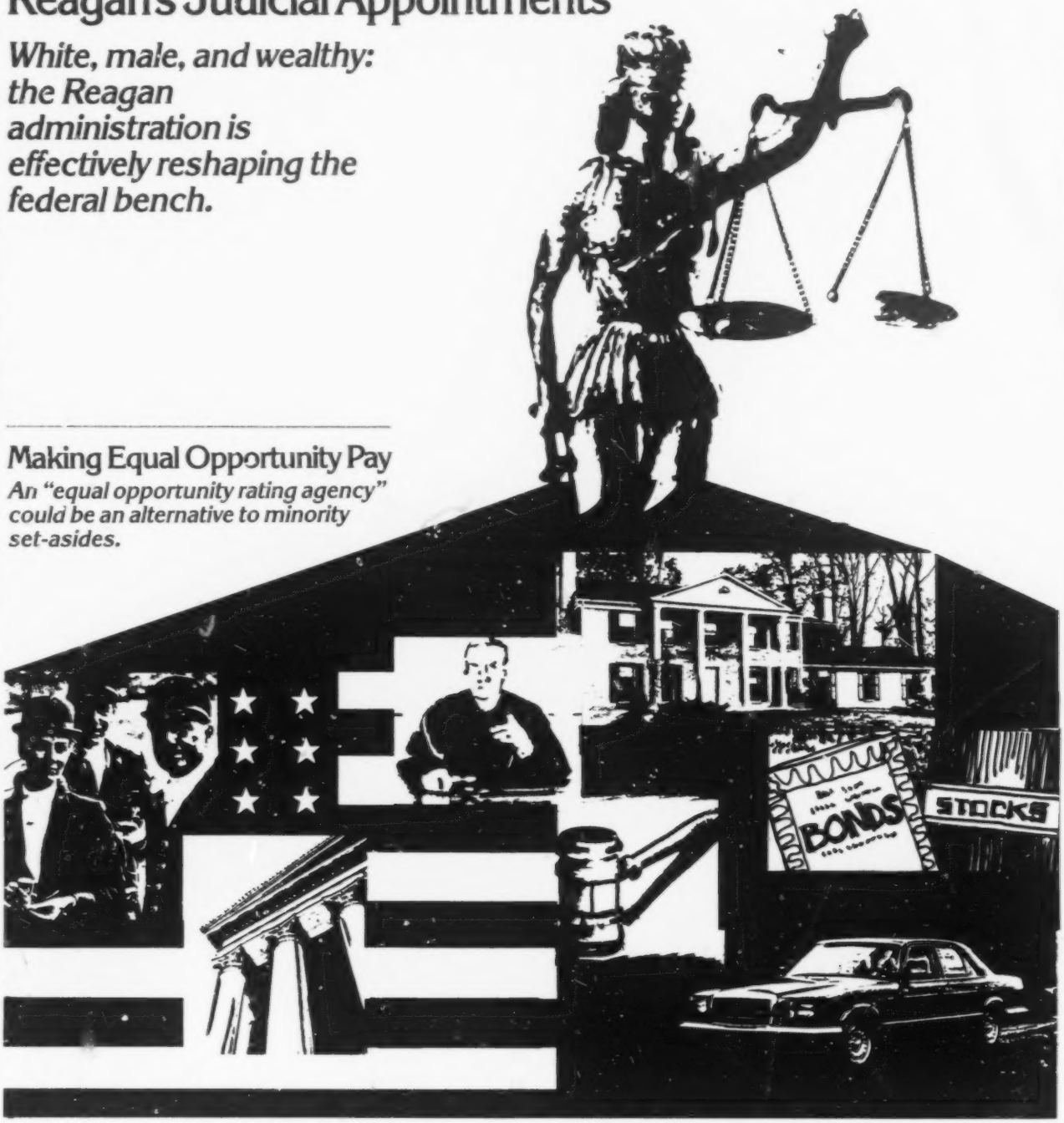
March, 1985

R5685-4

FOCUS

Reagan's Judicial Appointments

White, male, and wealthy: the Reagan administration is effectively reshaping the federal bench.



Making Equal Opportunity Pay

An "equal opportunity rating agency" could be an alternative to minority set-asides.

Plus: A JCPS table of U.S. Senate races to watch in 1986.

ISSN 0740-0195

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The national interest in education has burgeoned; scholars, teachers, and policy makers have all expressed concern about the extent to which the education and training offered by our schools and colleges enable students to find a productive place in today's technologically driven economy. The Joint Center has been similarly concerned about the apparent mismatch between what is taught and what is needed, particularly in the case of the nation's black youth.

In 1981 and 1982, the Joint Center convened a meeting of thirty prominent black scholars at Tarrytown, New York, to discuss the problems black Americans face in the closing decades of the twentieth century. This group identified education as one of three areas meriting urgent concern, noting that education has traditionally "been a key vehicle for upward mobility." (The other areas were the economy and the black family.) I was especially pleased, therefore, to learn recently that the Carnegie Corporation of New York attributes like urgency to the issue of education.

On January 28, David A. Hamburg, president of Carnegie, announced creation of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. Projected to have a ten-year life, the forum "will bring together leading Americans to help chart a course for education policy that reflects a world economy transformed by science and technology." Dr. Hamburg explained the foundation's new program this way: "The basic goal of the forum is to improve the chances that all Americans are educated in a way that helps them participate effectively in the economy."

Dr. Hamburg will head the forum with the help of an advisory council that includes Dr. Shirley M. Malcom, program head in the Office of Opportunities in Science at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Dr. Shirley M. McBay, dean of Student Affairs at M.I.T., both of whom are black, and San Antonio Mayor Henry G. Cisneros, who is Hispanic. Among the issues to be addressed by the forum are these:

- How to make sure that the education provided women, racial and ethnic minorities, and other major population groups enables their members to participate in the economic rewards the society has to offer;
- How to improve the intellectual skills and accomplishments of all elementary and secondary school students while also improving the efficiency with which these students are educated;
- Whether the national economy will require skill levels in the general population higher, lower, or about the same as those needed now, and what will be the "basic skills" needed by everyone;
- How to address effectively the needs of unemployed teenagers, displaced workers, people in dead-end jobs, and millions of illiterate adults who lack the threshold skills required for effective participation in the economy; and
- What changes are needed to help schools and colleges prepare young adults and people now in the work force to function well in a work environment increasingly characterized by shifting tasks, a rapidly changing knowledge base, and teamwork.

The forum will accomplish its mission through a variety of means: workshops; research; monitoring of national educational trends; coordination with groups and policy makers who have similar interests; and yearly meetings of prominent Americans from business, labor, government, education, and the scientific community to study the connection between education policy and future economic needs.

I strongly support this initiative and laud its stated intention to "address issues concerning education and its relationship to the economy for people of all ages and in all institutional settings." There are few more worthy endeavors than "ensuring that all Americans have authentic opportunities for a higher quality of education than any they have earlier achieved."

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Making Equal Opportunity Pay

by Robert Suggs

(Mr. Suggs, an attorney, is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Elected officials and others have long recognized the critical role that minority-owned businesses play in job and wealth creation. This has led to the use of minority set-asides and other minority preference arrangements for government procurement in an effort to stimulate minority business development. The first federal initiative, the "8(a) program" in the Small Business Administration, was established in 1970. This program sets aside certain government procurement contracts and allows only minority firms to bid on them. As blacks have captured more and more political influence at the local level, minority set-asides in local procurement have proliferated across the country. They have been enacted by states (e.g., Ohio), state agencies (e.g., Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority), counties (e.g., Dade County, Florida), cities (e.g., Washington, D.C.), and municipal agencies (e.g., San Francisco Unified School District).

Increasingly, however, set-asides and even minority procurement goals are under attack. Although the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a limited federal minority set-aside law in 1980 (in the case of *Fullilove* v. *Klutznick*), it did so by a six to three vote, and the six justices who sustained it could agree on no common rationale. Since five of the current justices on the Court are over 76 years old, in the next four years several new appointments will probably be made. Given the disagreement within the Court on a constitutional rationale for set-asides, and given the use of conservative "litmus tests" to select judicial nominees, the 1980 decision may well be overturned by a changed Court.

Across the country there is a determined effort to do away with minority set-asides and preferences. The new Civil Rights Commission and prominent administration spokespersons have voiced opposition to them, calling them a form of reverse discrimination. The Associated General Contractors of America, the major construction trade association, has published a tract entitled "Discriminatory Impact of Racist and Other Special Preference Procurement Programs." The Department of Justice has intervened in private suits and tried to invalidate local set-asides. As local jurisdictions have enacted set-asides, they have been challenged on both constitutional and statutory grounds.

More than a dozen courts have already ruled on these challenges, and so far most of the set-aside programs have survived constitutional scrutiny. But other grounds exist upon which set-asides can be challenged. The Georgia Supreme Court recently invalidated Atlanta's set-aside ordinance because it violated a state law requiring acceptance of the lowest responsible bid. Other state and federal statutes provide additional grounds to challenge set-asides and these may be increasingly relied upon in the future. Consideration should therefore be given to developing alternatives, because the newer challenges may succeed or the composition of the Supreme Court may change enough to overrule the *Fullilove* decision.

A New Approach

I would like to propose one concept that avoids the legal vulnerabilities of set asides: an equal opportunity rating agency (EORA). This would be a private company operating under contract with cities, counties, and states wishing to use its services. In essence, an EORA would function much like a credit agency and would serve the similar purpose of measuring true costs.

When someone applies for a loan, the lender can use the applicant's credit rating in deciding whether to approve the loan. That rating is established by a private commercial firm based upon the applicant's credit history; it is supposed to indicate the likelihood that the borrower will repay the loan. Information necessary for the credit agency to rate a borrower is either furnished voluntarily by the borrower as a precondition to qualifying for a loan or collected from court records and other public sources. Borrowers with superior credit ratings—whether individual consumers, business firms, or municipalities—are charged lower interest rates than those whose slow repayments or defaults in the past have earned them a lower rating. Thus past performance is rewarded with a competitive advantage—the ability to borrow at a lower interest rate.

An equal opportunity rating agency would evaluate bidders seeking contracts with a city by assessing their historical performance in hiring and promoting minorities and using minority suppliers and contractors. Just as a credit rating expresses the likelihood of default on a loan, an EORA rating would assess the historical quality of performance and express the likelihood that the contractor would fail to provide equal opportunity for all the city's population. And just as a high credit rating reduces the interest rate at which funds can be borrowed, an EORA would economically justify the selection of a nominally higher bid from a highly rated company over a lower bid from a lower rated company. An EORA would not make procurement decisions for local governments. It would merely provide information allowing them to choose the most appropriate supplier consistent with the long-term economic health of their populations.

A loan default imposes costs on the lender and justifies charging higher interest rates to those more likely to default and refusing loans to those most likely to default. An EORA rating would reflect the costs at the macroeconomic level imposed by failure to provide equal opportunity and would function as a rough measure of these costs. Much of a city's procurement of supplies and services may be from companies within the metropolitan region but outside its boundaries—especially a city that has, first, a high minority population and a static or declining employment base and, second, surrounding suburbs with lower unemployment and substantially fewer minorities. The informal employment barriers (such as word-of-mouth hiring procedures) that restrict minority access to jobs in the suburbs may increase unemployment rates within the city and the city's related social welfare costs. Thus costs that could justify selecting the nominally higher bid would include:

(Continued on page 6)

Reagan's Judicial Appointments

by Sheldon Goldman

(Mr. Goldman is a professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. This is an abbreviated version of an article that will appear in the April issue of Judicature, the journal of the American Judicature Society.)

Ronald Reagan's reelection by a landslide victory in 1984 was hailed by some observers as a significant political event comparable to Franklin Roosevelt's reelection in 1936. Among other things, the views of both presidents on the role of government, including the courts, were radically different from those of their immediate predecessors in office. Indeed, in their first terms both Reagan and Roosevelt sought to change the direction of government, saw the courts as frustrating their policy agendas, and consciously attempted to use the power of judicial appointment to place on the bench judges sharing their general philosophy. And both of their reelection campaigns saw the courts and judicial appointments emerge as issues.

Franklin Roosevelt's court appointments fundamentally reshaped constitutional law, and his appointees numerically dominated the lower federal courts for close to a decade after his presidency. Ronald Reagan has already begun the groundwork for his judicial legacy. With just two terms in office—as compared to Roosevelt's three plus—Reagan will accomplish what only Roosevelt and Eisenhower accomplished during the last half century—naming a majority of the lower federal judiciary in active service. This makes it all the more significant to inquire what has been the Reagan first-term record in the realm of judicial selection. How does this record compare with those of previous administrations? Has the administration been successful in placing on the bench those in harmony with administration philosophy? What can we expect in the second term?

District Court Appointments

The findings for selected attributes of the 129 Reagan first-term appointments to the federal district courts are presented in Table 1. Also presented in the table are comparable findings for the Carter, Ford, Nixon, and Johnson administrations' appointees.

The record of the Reagan first-term district court appointments is mixed with regard to gender and race/ethnicity. The Reagan administration was, of course, responsible for the historic appointment of the first woman to the Supreme Court. At the district court level, the record, as indicated by Table 1, shows that the Reagan administration was second only to the Carter administration, in the number of women appointed. Over nine per cent of the appointments went to women, which suggests that the administration, as well as some Republican senators, made an effort to recruit well-qualified women. While it is true that the large majority of all appointees of all five administrations have been male, the Reagan administration must be given credit for continuing the push for sexual equality in the recruitment of federal district judges. It is also significant that by the end of the first term, two women held important Justice Department positions concerned with judicial selection: Carol Dinkins as deputy attorney general and Jane Swift as special counsel for judicial selection in the Office of Legal Policy. Women in key Justice Department positions will probably be sensitive to sexual discrimination in the judicial selection process.

The record as to black appointments, however, is markedly different. The Reagan first-term record is not only the worst of all five administrations, it is the worst since the Eisenhower administration, in which no blacks were appointed to life-time district court positions. Justice Department officials are aware of this poor record and have said they would like to improve it, but they feel it is extraordinarily difficult to find well-qualified blacks who share the president's philosophy and are also willing to serve. Critics respond that the administration has not made the recruitment of blacks a high priority in part because the black electorate votes overwhelmingly Democratic, and there is little political pay-off in the appointment of blacks. In contrast, the proportion of Hispanics was second only to that of the Carter administration. Some observers link that fact to the Republican party effort to woo Hispanic voters in the 1984 election.

The net worth of the Reagan appointees as compared to the Carter appointees is shown in Table 2. There are differences in degree at both ends of the financial spectrum. There were proportionately more millionaires among the Reagan district court appointees—over five times as many as the Carter appointees—and proportionately fewer Reagan appointees at the lower end of the economic spectrum. This suggests that there is somewhat of a class difference between the Republican and Democratic appointees on the whole that is analogous to the socioeconomic differences between the electorates of the two parties. However, the findings also suggest that the Reagan and Carter appointees were for the most part drawn from the middle to upper class.

Table 1. Gender and Race of U.S. District Court appointees

	Reagan	Carter	Ford	Nixon	Johnson
	%	%	%	%	%
Gender:					
Male	90.7	85.6	98.1	99.4	98.4
Female	9.3	14.4	1.9	0.6	1.6
Ethnicity or race:					
White	93.0	78.7	88.5	95.5	93.4
Black	0.8	13.9	5.8	3.4	4.1
Hispanic	5.4	6.9	1.9	1.1	2.5
Asian	0.8	0.5	3.9	-	-
Total no. of appointees	129	202	52	179	122

Table 2. Net worth of Reagan appointees and Carter appointees

	Reagan (first term)		Carter (96th Congress)	
	District	Appeals	District	Appeals
	%	%	%	%
$0-199,999 total	18.6	10.0	35.8	33.3
200,000-999,999 total	58.9	66.7	60.1	56.4
1+ million total	22.5	23.3	4.0	10.3
Total no. of appointees	129	30	148	39

Source: Senate Judiciary Committee

Appeals Court Appointments

Traditionally, senators of the president's party have had considerably less influence in the selection of appeals court judges than of district court judges. This has meant that administrations have had more of an opportunity to pursue their policy agendas by recruiting appeals judges who are thought to be philosophically sympathetic to those agendas. We can so view the 31 first-term Reagan appointments to the courts of appeals with general jurisdiction as compared to the 56 Carter, 12 Ford, 45 Nixon, and 40 Johnson appointees. Because there are fewer appeals judges than district judges, differences in percentages, as reported in Table 3, must be treated with caution.

In terms of appointments of women and minorities, the first-term Reagan record for the appeals courts can be seen as a dramatic retreat from the Carter record. Of 31 appeals court appointees only one was a woman, only one was black, and only one was Hispanic. Whether the participation of Carol E. Dinkins (until her departure from the Justice Department in March 1985) and Jane Swift in the selection process will result in the active consideration and recruitment of women to the appeals courts will be something to watch for during the second term. The male-dominated selection process may lead to greater willingness to recruit women for the district bench than for the more important and prestigious appeals courts. The administration may also want their women appointees to the district courts to prove themselves on the bench before being actively considered for promotion.

Future Appointments

Have the Reagan appointees met the expectations of the administration? Have they begun to shift the ideological balance on the lower courts? The answers to these questions must await systematic empirical analysis. Fragmentary evidence, however, suggests that the administration on the whole has reason to be satisfied. For example, a study by the Center for Judicial Studies of every decision published by every Reagan appointee serving during the first two years of Reagan's first term concluded that the overwhelming majority of appointees demonstrated judicial restraint along the lines favored by the administration.

Although political party platforms are notorious for being treated as merely campaign rhetoric, the 1984 Republican party platform contains a good summary of the Reagan philosophy for the judiciary:

> Judicial power must be exercised with deference towards state and local officials. . . . It is not a judicial function to reorder the economic, political, and social priorities of our nation. . . . We commend the president for appointing federal judges committed to the rights of law-abiding citizens and traditional family values. . . . In his second term President Reagan will continue to appoint Supreme Court and other federal judges who share our commitment to judicial restraint.

This is the ideological or philosophical outlook the administration will be seeking in judges during the second term.

We can also offer some projections as to the likely profile of second-term appointees. Just as there was no indication at the start of the second term that there would be sharp alterations in other areas of public policy, so with the judiciary there is no reason to anticipate a shift in the course already set during the first term.

What this means is that second-term appointees will probably continue to be predominantly white male Republicans, many of whom are at the upper end of the socioeconomic spectrum. Women will probably continue to receive appointments at a level comparable to that for the first term, which will place the Reagan administration second only to the Carter administration in terms of appointments to women. As for black Americans, there is no reason to believe that there will be a marked change from the poor record of the first term during the second term.

The Reagan administration correctly sees the courts as having the power to further or hinder administration goals; thus judicial appointments are of major importance for this administration in its attempt to reshape public policy. How successful the administration will ultimately be must await more extensive analysis of the judicial decision making of the first- and second-term appointees.

Table 3. Gender and Race of Appointees to the Courts of Appeals

	Reagan	Carter	Ford	Nixon	Johnson
	%	%	%	%	%
Gender:					
Male	96.8	80.4	100.0	100.0	97.5
Female	3.2	19.6	-	-	2.5
Ethnicity or race:					
White	93.5	78.6	100.0	97.8	95.0
Black	3.2	16.1	-	-	5.0
Hispanic	3.2	3.6	-	-	-
Asian	-	1.8	-	2.2	-
Total no. of appointees	31	56	12	45	40

Making Equal Opportunity Pay

(Continued from page 6)

asides. In addition, it would have a broader reach, encompassing even private sector transactions, and it could even be used by minority politicians lacking the votes to pass set-asides and minority-governed jurisdictions too small to administer them. As a private firm operating under contract with local governments, an EORA would be independent of changes in the political administration in Washington. Moreover, it would not require new legislation or significant new resources, and the accurate and comprehensive information that it would collect and make available for the first time to local governments might prove useful for other economic development initiatives.

This EORA concept is not without its own difficulties. But it should be explored now, so that if a court decision should invalidate existing arrangements, effective and well-designed alternatives will already have been prepared.

. . . Equal Opportunity

(Continued from page 3)

- lost municipal income tax revenues from unemployment and underemployment resulting from discrimination;
- added social welfare costs from unemployment and underemployment resulting from discrimination;
- the increased expense of monitoring historically noncomplying companies; and
- the effects of discrimination against minority-owned businesses, which retard the growth of this potential tax base and source of job growth.

A rating system also allows a city to factor in the "multiplier effect." For a city with a high minority population, the net cost of spending $1 million with a company employing minorities and subcontracting with minority firms is less than that of spending the same amount with a company that doesn't.

An EORA could be started if several large cities contracted to use its services, pooled their information resources and coordinated their information needs. The agency would assume some of the equal employment opportunity functions currently performed by each city's staff, and it would also function as a central repository for information gathered by each city. It would permit smaller jurisdictions, without the resources to mount their own EEO compliance efforts, to steer their business away from the most discriminatory companies. At present, although most public contracts contain an equal opportunity and nondiscrimination obligation of some kind, no central file exists where past performance of this obligation by individual companies is compiled. Nor does poor performance or failure to attain minority business participation goals for a contract with one jurisdiction necessarily affect contracts with another. Through an EORA, for example, a company found to use phony minority companies as "fronts" would be red-flagged in every mayor's office in the country.

The fundamental weakness of equal opportunity requirements as part of the contractual obligation is that they are necessarily future obligations. The contract is generally awarded and commitments locked into place before any evaluation can be made. Despite unsatisfactory performance, funds may already have been disbursed. At present, companies failing to fulfill their equal opportunity commitments can start with nearly a clean slate on the next bidding cycle by promising to do better the next time.

An EORA would tie past performance to future gain. A company with a history of discrimination would have to improve its record *before* it could compete on an equal footing with a company not so handicapped. In addition, set-asides affect only public sector contracts, but an EORA rating would assess all a bidder's contracts. A contractor that used minority subcontractors only on public-sector projects would be disadvantaged compared to a contractor dealing fairly with minority firms across the board. The latter would gain measurable competitive advantages. Nondiscrimination would become a business advantage that competitive pressures would continually enforce.

A great deal of the information required for an EORA already exists in government files, but it is scattered across the country. Brought into a central place, it can be verified, checked for consistency, compared, and analyzed. Under federal law, firms with 100 or more workers must report the occupational and salary breakdowns of their employees by race. Publicly held companies must include information about major employment discrimination claims in their filings with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Local governments with minority participation or employment goals collect similar information, but few are able to verify it for consistency and accuracy. In addition, relevant information is contained in the records of courts and administrative agencies that adjudicate employment discrimination complaints and in those of state and local human rights agencies that investigate them. Minority business development agencies and organizations may also be useful sources.

One advantage of a central repository for this kind of information would be that inaccurate or misleading information filed by a major company would quickly have national repercussions for all its public contracts. This would encourage companies to be more careful and timely with the information they provide. Moreover, if a company disputes its assigned rating the burden is on it to provide the factual basis to justify a higher rating. It could do this by providing additional data about either its own operations or those of its competitors. A company refusing to cooperate would not be disqualified: It might in fact offer something unique and have no competitors. Or its bid may be so low that a city chooses immediate budget savings over the longer term consequences. In the aggregate, however, the use of ratings in procurement would allow more rational decisions.

Once assigned, a rating would be reassessed periodically and after significant events. A superior rating might even be used affirmatively by the rated company in its product advertising or as evidence in discrimination suits. A properly publicized rating would also permit black consumers at large to spend their dollars with companies offering the best employment and business opportunities.

Once established, the costs of an EORA system could be recovered through a number of means. Cities using its services extensively could pay a subscription charge, and since an EORA would replace some of their currently budgeted equal opportunity enforcement efforts, subscribing cities could conceivably save money. Bidding qualification fees—similar to loan application fees—could be collected from companies seeking public contracts. Smaller jurisdictions, making only intermittent use of its confidential files to determine ratings for their prospective suppliers, could be separately charged access fees as merchants are charged for credit checks.

The Broader Reach of EORA

The EORA is not a substitute for set-aside programs; it would not create a sheltered market reserved exclusively for minorities. If, however, efforts to invalidate sheltered markets succeed, and even if they do not, the concept could be a useful supplement, since it avoids most of the legal vulnerabilites of set-

(Continued on page 5)

Telescope

DOE Clearinghouse for Minority Energy Information

The Department of Energy has opened a National Minority Energy Information Clearinghouse, a central repository for information about energy programs and the economic impact of those programs on minorities, minority businesses, and minority educational institutions.

Services available from the clearinghouse are:

- referrals to sources of management and technical assistance for minority businesses and educational institutions and to sources for procurement and research opportunities;
- identification of minority vendors;
- searches of DOE, Department of Commerce, and Small Business Administration data bases;
- regional socioeconomic and demographic data on minorities and their energy use patterns;
- referrals to sources that assist in energy development for minority communities.

The clearinghouse may be reached by writing the National Minority Energy Information Clearinghouse, Office of Minority Economic Impact, U.S. Department of Energy, 1000 Independence Avenue, SW, Room 5B-110, Washington, D.C. 20585; or by calling 202/252-5876.

Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) is coordinating a national grassroots effort in support of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985. (See the February 1985 issue of *Focus* for a summary of the bill.) Last year, the House passed the bill, which reaffirms congressional intent that institutions receiving federal funds (e.g., schools, hospitals) have comprehensive nondiscrimination policies, but the bill was killed by a filibuster in the Senate. Similar tactics to defeat the bill are expected again this year. The full House is expected to vote on the bill in April; Senate hearings will probably start sometime this spring, with the full Senate taking up the measure by summer.

The LCCR has prepared background material on the bill, including a summary of the bill and a list of its sponsors, which can be obtained from the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone 202/667-1780.

State of New York Gets Its First Black Elected Mayor

Ronald V. Blackwood, elected as mayor of Mount Vernon, New York, in January, became the first black to be elected mayor in that state. Blackwood served four terms as a Republican councilman but switched to the Democratic party when Republican leaders did not support his mayoral aspirations. He emigrated to the United States 30 years ago from Kingston, Jamaica.

Bibliography on the Health of Minority Women

Women, Health, and Healing, an academic program at the University of California that provides graduate and post-graduate education in the area of women's health, is preparing a bibliography of publications on the health of minority women. The bibliography is divided into separate sections for black, Asian, Hispanic, and Native American women, and each section lists books, articles, and unpublished materials. The bibliography will also include a list of minority women's organizations and programs.

Those interested in obtaining a copy of the bibliography should contact Virginia Olesen, Co-Director, Women, Health, and Healing Project, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Room N-631-Y, University of California, San Francisco, Calif. 94143; telephone: (415) 666-2453.

Update on the 1990 Census

Do you have any ideas about how the 1990 census should be conducted in your area? In last October's *Focus*, JCPS senior researcher William P. O'Hare described activities being conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in preparation for the 1990 census, including a list of public meetings to be held throughout the country. The Census Bureau is still seeking ideas for the next census from the public. Below is a list of meetings scheduled through 1985, along with telephone numbers of the State Data Centers sponsoring the meetings. You may contact the center in your area for further information.

Date	Place	Contact No.
April		
2	Montgomery, AL	205/348-6191
3	Jackson, MS	601/232-7288
17	Providence, RI	401/277-2656
18	Hartford, CT	203/566-3905
24	Richmond, VA	804/786-7843
May		
7	Topeka, KS	913/296-3296
8	Jefferson City, MO	314/751-4552
14	Helena, MT	406/444-2896
15	Boise, ID	208/344-3416
16	Harrisburg, PA	717/948-6336
22	Pittsburgh, PA	717/948-6336
June		
4	Augusta, ME	207/289-2271
11	Anchorage, AK	907/465-4513
12	Juneau, AK	907/465-4513
18	St. Paul, MN	612/296-4886
19	Des Moines, IA	515/281-3738
July		
9	Salt Lake City, UT	801/533-6082
10	Cheyenne, WY	303/236-2200
August		
13	Honolulu, HI	808/548-3082
15	Dover, DE	302/736-4271
September		
11	Sioux Falls, SD	605/677-5287
17	Bismarck, ND	701/237-8621
18	Lincoln, NE	402/472-2334
October		
8	Springfield, IL	217/782-3500
10	Austin, TX	512/475-3728

Selected U.S. Senate Races in 1986

State *	Incumbent	Party	CEA	Margin in 1980	Unregistered Blacks, 1984	Black % of VAP
Alabama	Denton	R	5	40,187	188,000	23
Arkansas	Bumpers	D	95	150,041	66,000	14
California	Cranston	D	85	1,611,973	489,000	7
Florida	Hawkins	R	30	117,051	393,000	11
Georgia	Mattingly	R	20	27,652	440,000	24
Illinois	Dixon	D	80	619,006	232,000	13
Indiana	Quayle	R	30	166,452	72,000	7
Louisiana	(OPEN)**	D	-	-	211,000	27
Maryland	Matthias	R	65	415,852	257,000	21
Missouri	(OPEN)**	D	-	-	109,000	9
New York	D'Amato	R	40	80,991	791,000	12
North Carolina	East	R	5	10,411	382,000	20
Ohio	Glenn	D	60	1,633,091	200,000	9
Pennsylvania	Specter	R	65	108,013	212,000	8
South Carolina	Hollings	D	65	354,608	250,000	27

* States having a Senate election in 1986 for which reliable estimates of unregistered blacks are available.
** Senators Russell Long (D,LA) and Thomas Eagleton (D,MO) will retire at the end of their current terms.
CEA = Roll call voting score on minority issues compiled by Congressional Education Associates.
Unregistered Blacks = Estimate of unregistered blacks of voting age as of November 1984.
VAP = Voting age population.
Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

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PRICE $1.25

Volume 13, No. 4 April, 1985

R5685-4

FOCUS

Economist Andrew F. Brimmer:
Blacks have made economic gains over the last two years. How do we keep up the pace?

Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund:
Teen-age pregnancy must be curbed. In the meantime, how can we help young mothers and their children?

Congressman William H. Gray, Chairman, House Budget Committee:
Sound fiscal policy and compassion are not mutually exclusive. But can we achieve a consensus on both austerity and fairness?

ISSN 0740-0195

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

During the past year, the Joint Center has examined major changes in black life and indeed in our national life. We commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with a conference assessing changes in race relations; we marked the thirtieth anniversary of the *Brown* decision by publishing an appraisal of the progress and problems the society has experienced in pursuing equal educational opportunity; and through our many studies of black political participation—including Jesse Jackson's presidential bid—we documented black accomplishments in the political arena.

These and other activities underscore for us the remarkable changes that have occurred in the status of blacks in our society. For most of our history, we were denied fair treatment by officials at the state and local levels—officials who made decisions of extreme importance to black Americans. Having been discounted by our neighbors on the school board and by the men at the state capitol, we looked to political participation for advancement of our own interests. And now, thanks to increased political sophistication, the black community is strengthening its own voice at every level of government. Political self-help is paying off.

Today, there are more big-city black mayors than ever before; more black state legislators; more black county officials as well as city and school board members. The black vote helps elect blacks to office, and it is also crucial to the election of many whites who are, or can be persuaded to be, supportive of our goals.

Nevertheless, the activities of the Joint Center also underscore for us the nation's unfinished civil rights agenda. The victories of the past were, in many ways, the easy ones. The problems that remain are much more complex and subtle, and in some ways, we seem less well-equipped to tackle them now than we did two decades ago.

In some quarters, the commitment to the struggle for racial equality appears to have waned substantially. The Civil Rights Commission, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Justice Department have not only abandoned their historic leadership roles, but they are now zealous and ungracious leaders of a broad retreat across terrain previously won. Black institutions and leadership structures that so effectively anchored the past struggle for change are now confronted by the need to rethink strategy and to rearm to engage new threats. These current realities require thoughtful appraisal of our achievements, clear definition of our aspirations, and development of new strategies and resources to pursue those aspirations.

For example, now that we have won access to the political arena, we are challenged to understand the power and the limitations of this access and to find ways to use it effectively in pursuit of our goals. While the broad goal of racial equality clearly continues to draw wide support, its translation into concrete programs or policies has become increasingly difficult and controversial. Much of the difficulty stems from the complexity of the social and economic issues that are now involved. Changes in the domestic and global economies, changes in public perceptions of the role of government in society, and the increasing intensity of competition for public resources are all formidable forces to be reckoned with.

These developments all speak to the need for new types of resources and new forms of leadership. The Joint Center seeks to contribute substantially to meeting these needs. We will do so through research, through the dissemination of information vital to policy making, and by engaging the best minds available to explore solutions to the problems of black America. In this effort, we explore not only how public policies and public institutions might more effectively address these problems but also how the black community with its many vital and historically vigorous institutions might play an even larger role. Today, black America is challenged more than ever to keep the wheels of progress churning through its own efforts.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Seeking a Budget Consensus

by William H. Gray III

(Congressman Gray, D-PA, is chairman of the House Budget Committee.)

As the new chairman of the House Budget Committee, I welcome the challenge posed by the budget battles to come during President Reagan's second term. But I fear that we face a time of grave crisis.

The federal government is now operating under a set of policies that could wreck our economy. As a nation we are spending roughly $200 billion more than we take in—and we are spending unwisely and taxing unfairly. This year, we will become a debtor nation; by the end of the decade, we will be carrying the largest debt of any nation in the world.

The Effect of Administration Policy

This will occur because of the policies of the current administration, which has deliberately chosen to finance a massive military buildup with borrowed money. In the short term, this approach is clever in the extreme: Americans want a militarily strong nation, and few among us are likely to object to having our taxes cut.

In the long term, however, we will have to borrow billions of dollars from abroad just to pay the interest on our debt, and, in turn, spend more and more of our resources on interest payments to foreign creditors. Our standard of living will be at risk. Instead of becoming richer as a nation, we will gradually become poorer as a people.

And I fear that the poorest and weakest among us will suffer the most. In the past few years, a majority of Americans have put the poor, the jobless, and the homeless out of mind; the middle class is thriving and simply prefers not to share its good fortune with those left behind. As for the administration, its policy makers seem unconcerned with what is fair and effective for this segment of the population. For example:

- Is it fair and effective to slash or kill almost every program that provides aid to our cities? Do we so quickly forget the recent predictions of imminent urban decay? Many of our cities have made remarkable comebacks, but the partnership with the federal government has been integral to this recovery. The entire nation has a stake in the health of our cities.
- Is it fair and effective to limit the access of our young people to colleges and universities in an era when economic advancement depends on education?
- Is it fair and effective to cut back on health, nutrition, child care, and housing at a time when poverty is on the increase?
- Is it fair and effective to increase Pentagon spending by $34 billion, while cutting domestic spending by more than $40 billion, as the president has proposed?

Since President Reagan took office, eight million more Americans have fallen below the poverty line, 325,000 more men and women have become unemployed, and the largest tax cut in our history has redistributed income to the wealthy, while those with incomes below $20,000 have recouped less in tax cuts than they lost as a result of cuts in federal assistance. Defense spending has escalated, as have losses of life because of military interventions in Lebanon, Grenada, and Central America. The structural deficit resulting from rising defense spending and declining revenues threatens to hike interest rates and choke off what modest reductions there have been in unemployment during the past year.

Furthermore, as the widely respected Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has pointed out, our youth, the most vulnerable segment of our society, have born the heaviest burden created by this administration's misguided spending priorities. According to CDF, one in five American children is poor, one in two black children is poor, and two in five Hispanic children are poor. And school lunch, school breakfast, child care food and summer food programs have been reduced 29 percent, or over $5 billion between fiscal years 1982 to 1985.

My Task as Budget Chairman

As Budget Committee Chairman, I will attempt to build a consensus to change these policies *before* our nation is plunged into economic and social crisis. I will listen to everyone, consult with all parties and regions, and seek policy agreement among them. I believe that a consensus can be developed within the Congress. Many of my Republican colleagues agree that Pentagon spending must be brought under control. They agree also that the draconian cuts proposed in the Reagan budget should not be adopted.

The roadblock is at the White House. If President Reagan insists that the military buildup cannot be restrained, and if he insists that deficit reductions can come only by cutting back on aid to the poor, the elderly, students, and cities, then Congress will be unable to take the hard but necessary steps required to put the nation on more sound economic footing. Such an outcome would be tragic.

Even with the president's active leadership, it will be extremely difficult to solve the problem of the deficit. Lowering the deficit below $100 billion by 1988 will require reductions totaling about $160 billion that year. Achieving this goal will also require that we face difficult choices in every area of the budget and that all Americans—except the poor—share in the sacrifice.

Theoretically, we can achieve our goal in many different ways. Our challenge is to do so fairly and responsibly, to achieve dynamic growth while remaining compassionate.

Some will say this is impossible. But I believe growth and compassion are compatible. The greatest times in our history have come when we have been able to expand on both these fronts. Individuals and government must become partners if we are to reach this goal. We must have a vital, innovative business sector as well as trained, skilled, educated, healthy people. We will need policies that create new industries and new jobs rather than dividing this nation between rich and poor. We must encourage hard work and the desire to advance, and strengthen the instinct to share and to help others.

Our goal must be to create a nation rich in material goods *and* rich in justice—one in which the next generation is not saddled with a huge national debt and in which the government plays its rightful role, ensuring that our children have a full and equal opportunity for education, jobs, and growth.

Caring for Young Mothers

by Marian Wright Edelman

(Ms. Edelman is president of the Children's Defense Fund and a member of the JCPS Board of Governors. On February 27, the Joint Center and the Children's Defense Fund convened a meeting of black elected and appointed state officials in Washington, D.C. to discuss the issues Ms. Edelman addresses in this article.)

Adolescent parenthood makes economic success a distant dream, especially for poor and minority youth. Teen mothers are three times more likely to be single parents than women who become mothers in their twenties. They are less likely to complete high school or go on to college and, consequently, much more likely to have low incomes. Over 47 percent of all female-headed families are poor, and over 77 percent of all young (under age 25) female-headed families are poor.

More than 56 percent of black babies are born to never-married single mothers, and families headed by these mothers are four times more likely to be poor than two-parent families. Nearly 84 percent of black mothers 25 and under are poor. And their babies are significantly more likely to be born at low birthweight and, therefore, at substantially higher risk of death and birth defects. These babies are also more likely to be admitted to a hospital because of an accident or gastrointestinal infection during their first five years.

Prenatal Care Campaign

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has launched a comprehensive prenatal care outreach and action campaign to promote better health among young mothers and their babies. Through this campaign, we hope to expand funding for and access to prenatal care for adolescent and poor mothers; educate communities about the importance of ensuring that young mothers receive care; and involve community and public decision makers in setting and implementing goals to make certain that the number of babies born to mothers without prenatal care actually decreases significantly over the next five years.

Early and continuous care of pregnant teens is important for several reasons.

Prenatal care will save thousands of infant lives and prevent birth defects. Nothing is as tragic as the death of a baby. Yet, if current trends are permitted to continue, between now and 1990, 22,000 American babies will die, primarily because they were born too small to survive. At least 1 in 8—or 2,700—of these deaths could be prevented simply by ensuring that the mothers receive early and comprehensive prenatal care. Thousands more infants will die from causes related to low birthweight; they might also be saved if their mothers receive adequate prenatal care. And prenatal care could help prevent thousands more infants from being born handicapped for life.

Teens are more likely than adult mothers to have low birthweight babies and to lack prenatal care. Although births to teens represent only 14 percent of all babies born in the United States each year, 20 percent of all low birthweight babies are born to teens. Because low birthweight is so strongly associated with infant death and handicaps, the thousands of babies who die each year in America are disproportionately the children of teenage mothers. Teenage girls age 14 and under may face significant health risks from pregnancy.

Prenatal care is an area where we can articulate clear goals and track progress. In 1979, the Surgeon General of the United States first issued three modest, achievable Objectives for the Nation.

- By 1990, the proportion of women in any county or racial or ethnic group who obtain no prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy should not exceed 10 percent.
- By 1990, the national infant mortality rate should be reduced to no more than 9 deaths per thousand live births. By 1990, no county and no racial or ethnic subgroup should have an infant mortality rate in excess of 12 deaths per thousand live births.
- By 1990, low birthweight babies should constitute not more than 5 percent of all live births. By 1990, no county and no racial or ethnic group should have a rate of low birthweight infants that exceeds 9 percent of all live births.

These goals were reaffirmed by the current Surgeon General in 1984. If we are to reach them—and we can—we must make a renewed and systematic effort.

Currently, the nation is making insufficient progress toward reaching these goals. Among young, poor, minority pregnant women, progress has been reversed. The percentage of babies born at low birthweight has remained essentially unchanged since 1979, and the percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care early in pregnancy is dramatically below what it should be if we are to meet our 1990 goal.

Throughout the 1970s, prenatal care statistics improved steadily. In 1969, 68 percent of all women began care early in their pregnancies; by 1979, that figure had grown to 76 percent. By 1982, however, the improvements in prenatal care had all but come to a halt, and the percentage of babies born to black women who began prenatal care early actually began to decline, from 62 percent in 1981 to 61 percent in 1982. This erosion in early prenatal care rates was accompanied by national increases in 1982 in the percentage of women receiving little or no prenatal care—from 4 to 5 percent of white mothers, and from 9 to 10 percent of black mothers.

If this national stagnation in the number of low birthweight babies and erosion in prenatal care is allowed to continue, by 1990, at best, only 79.2 percent rather than 90 percent of women will begin prenatal care early in pregnancy. In order to achieve the Surgeon General's 1990 goals for prenatal care, we estimate that, between now and 1990, the nation will have to increase its annual rate of improvement by 600 percent a year.

Prenatal care saves money and reduces the number of low-birthweight babies in the most cost-effective way. Over the past two decades, almost all of our progress in reducing infant mortality has resulted not from producing healthy newborns through adequate prenatal care, but by caring, at great expense, for prematurely born infants.

America has led the world in its ability to save very tiny infants from death through the development of miraculous hospital services for newborns. But we also lead the industrialized world in the percentage

of low birthweight babies born each year who are in desperate need of saving.

The cost of caring for these babies averages $1,000 per day. Because of the pervasive poverty among these infants and their families, many have no means to pay for this care. Today, two-thirds of the 13.3 million children living in poverty are completely uninsured or are insured for only part of each year. Without insurance coverage, their families are in no position to afford the cost of treating a sick infant.

Until recently, these poor and uninsured babies and their parents relied on charity services and "fat" in hospital budgets to pick up the cost of their care. But such reliance may be coming to an end, as cost containment and competition for shrinking health care resources increasingly force hospitals to curtail or eliminate the amount of subsidized care they provide. As a result, the nation's entire approach to infant mortality reduction, which has emphasized spending on costly and heroic efforts rather than investing in preventive services is threatened.

Comprehensive prenatal care is a way to link teens to the health care system during the first pregnancy, to improve the health of their babies, and to counsel them on ways to avoid repeat pregnancies. Over 22 percent of teen mothers have another child. Yet there are examples of success in preventing repeat pregnancy through comprehensive health outreach and access to care. For example, in St. Paul, Minnesota, comprehensive school-based clinics have succeeded in keeping in school many pregnant girls who would otherwise have dropped out and in reducing the percentage of repeat pregnancies among girls who stay in school to only 1.4 percent.

The Role of Elected Officials

Elected officials should pay close attention to such matters as the teenage pregnancy and infant mortality rates within their states. The Medicaid participation rate by poor mothers and children also bears watching. These are all potential indicators of the need for elected officials to ensure that adequate services are in place for poor mothers and children. The *Data Book*, a CDF publication listing state-by-state statistics, enables elected officials to make quick comparisons between their state and others (e.g., see table for data on births to teens).

Such monitoring should help us advance toward the Surgeon General's Objectives for the Nation. At current rates of progress, 46 states will fail to meet the goal of providing prenatal care to at least 90 percent of pregnant women; 37 states will fall short of the targets concerning low birthweight babies, and 7 states will miss the goals for reducing infant mortality. The *Data Book* shows how far away each state is from these goals, and it tells how much progress will be required yearly to meet the goals.

One initiative that could help all states move closer to these goals would be to establish more school-based comprehensive clinics for teens. Such clinics, like the model program in St. Paul, have proven extremely effective in reaching teens and providing them with vitally important health information and services. As general health centers, they provide everything from immunization to treatment of athletes to pregnancy testing and counseling. Parental consent has never been an issue, because these clinics are multipurpose health centers that students visit for general health maintenance. The clinics do, however, have an outstanding record of persuading young women to seek prenatal care, to avoid a second pregnancy, and to stay in school. I encourage elected officials to seek funds from their own states to set up similar programs within schools in their districts. Officials may find that they can fund the clinics with state dollars earmarked for health care or with education money.

We must recognize that no one of us knows what will work completely or has *the* answer. We must commit ourselves to testing over a period of time a wide range of approaches until we hit upon the ones that do work for various target groups. At all costs, we should seek to avoid political quick fixes, proliferation of unevaluated models, or program by press.

Moralizing will not solve the teen pregnancy problem. But moral adult examples and efforts to provide constructive alternatives to young people will certainly help. This is a complex puzzle that we can solve only by working together thoughtfully and systematically over a long period of time.

Percentage of Babies Born to Teens, 1982

State	Nonwhite	Total	State	Nonwhite	Total	State	Nonwhite	Total
AL	25.6	18.9	KY	23.8	19.5	ND	20.1	10.0
AK	16.1	10.9	LA	24.9	18.7	OH	23.1	14.2
AZ	21.1	15.6	ME	—	13.1	OK	25.4*	18.3
AR	29.2	20.8	MD	22.4*	14.0	OR	14.6	11.8
CA	20.1*	12.6	MA	14.9	9.7	PA	24.5	12.8
CO	13.2	12.0	MI	22.5	12.8	RI	19.2	11.3
CT	23.2	10.7	MN	17.0	8.9	SC	24.7	18.5
DE	29.8	16.3	MS	28.7	21.9	SD	—	12.0
DC	22.8*	19.7	MO	25.4	14.9	TN	25.9	18.7
FL	25.7	16.4	MT	—	11.4	TX	25.5	17.0
GA	26.6*	18.8	NE	23.9*	10.5	UT	12.7	10.2
HI	12.1	10.9	NV	25.5*	14.5	VT	—	10.9
ID	—	12.1	NH	—	10.2	VA	21.7	13.8
IL	28.2	16.2	NJ	24.6	11.5	WA	15.3	10.9
IN	25.7*	15.2	NM	19.0	17.4	WV	19.1	18.4
IA	21.4	10.7	NY	18.2	11.3	WI	25.9	11.0
KS	21.4	13.4	NC	25.1	17.7	WY	20.0	13.8
						ALL	21.9	14.2

*Data is for blacks only.

Source: CDF *Data Book*.

Black Economic Progress

by Andrew F. Brimmer

(Mr. Brimmer is president of Brimmer & Company, Inc., an economic and financial consulting firm. This article is an edited version of Mr. Brimmer's keynote speech at the Joint Center for Political Studies Eighth Annual Dinner.)

Over the last two years, black Americans have made moderate economic progress, evident in their expanding employment and rising incomes. This is especially true for those with marketable skills that enable them to get and hold jobs in a labor market where competition is becoming ever more vigorous.

These gains are a marked turnaround from blacks' experience during the two recessions that plagued the economy in 1980 and in 1981-82. The black unemployment rate rose from 12.2 percent in December 1979 to 20.9 percent at the end of 1982. The comparable increase for whites was from 5.2 percent to 9.6 percent, and for the total civilian labor force, it was from 6.0 percent to 10.7 percent. Thus, blacks bore a disproportionately large share of the overall loss of jobs caused by the recessions earlier in this decade.

Employment and Income

But the strong expansion of the economy during the last two years has cut deeply into the backlog of unemployment generally, and blacks as well as whites have benefited from the decline in joblessness.

At the close of 1984, 1.8 million black workers were unemployed; two years earlier, this total was 2.4 million. This reduction represented 15.4 percent of the decline in total unemployment. On the other hand, blacks were still disproportionately unemployed: although they accounted for 10.8 percent of the civilian labor force, they were 23.5 percent of all persons unemployed at the end of 1984.

Nevertheless, many blacks took advantage of the employment opportunities created by the expanding economy. At the trough of the last recession in December 1982, they held 9.2 million jobs—9.2 percent of total employment. At the end of 1984, blacks held 10.5 million jobs—9.8 percent of total employment. So, over the last two years of economic expansion, black employment climbed by 1.3 million or 18.1 percent of the net increase of 7.2 million in civilian employment over this period. Thus, while blacks held just under one in ten jobs at the bottom of the last recession, they landed more than one in six of the new jobs created by the strong pace of economic growth during the last two years.

The deterioration and recovery in black employment were paralleled by changes in blacks' money income. The two recessions in the early 1980s dampened the growth of black income more than white income. But the last two years of economic expansion boosted black income proportionately more. In 1983, blacks received 7.2 percent of total money income—up from the 6.9 percent recorded in 1982 and back to the proportion reported prior to the 1981-82 recession. I estimate that blacks' share of income reached 7.6 percent in 1984 (Census Bureau data on 1984 income will not be available until this summer), and it may climb to 7.9 percent this year.

If per capita money income is used as a gauge, blacks' improvement over the past two years appears even greater. The ratio of black to white per capita income rose from 54.1 percent in 1982 to an estimated 59.0 percent in 1984. These figures reflect the fact that blacks' income gains considerably exceeded the growth rate of the black population.

Median family income, a more commonly used measure, shows greater deterioration in blacks' relative position over the last decade—and less improvement in recent years. This summary figure, however, ignores the considerable improvement achieved by better prepared black families. It is also held down by the experience of those black families stagnating at the lower end of the income scale. This is particularly true of such families headed by black females.

Although blacks as a group have been making moderate improvements in their relative income position, the gains have not extended throughout the community. While the degree of inequality in income distribution between blacks and whites has eased somewhat, the degree of inequality within the black community has become more extreme.

The persistent economic inequality of blacks has sparked a vigorous debate over the best way to reduce it. For the most part, civil rights leaders have looked to the federal government for both laws and financial resources to improve the lot of black citizens. They turned to the federal government because they believed that neither the private sector nor state and local authorities could be relied on to provide much assistance. For this reason, most traditional black leaders have been strong supporters not only of antidiscrimination laws but also of increased federal government spending—especially on programs such as food stamps, public housing, welfare assistance, Medicare, aid to education, manpower training, public service jobs, and affirmative action to erase the remaining vestiges of racial discrimination.

Many of these programs were part of the Great Society promoted by President Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s. They have also been among the chief targets of President Reagan's budget-cutters.

Over the last few years, a band of black conservatives has emerged as severe critics of the liberal economic and social policies advocated for so long by leaders of the civil rights movement. The most prominent of these new black voices are economists, but they also include businessmen and black professionals.

These black conservatives—who sound exactly like their white counterparts—say that blacks have become too dependent on federal government programs, which they disparage as handouts. They have a long list of public policies which they oppose—including the minimum wage, rent controls, and affirmative action. They urge blacks to look more to the private marketplace for jobs and income. Their message is aimed particularly at young people whose careers are still ahead of them.

I agree with the black conservatives on this last point. For a number of years, I have stressed the need for blacks to avoid being overly dependent on the federal government.

Prescription for Progress

Historically, blacks have been far more dependent on the public sector than have whites. For example, in the nation at large, blacks held 9.5 percent of all jobs in the economy in 1982. They held 9.6 percent of all private sector jobs—but 14.8 percent of those in

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

Reagan Administration Proposes Cutbacks in Food Programs for the Poor

Buried beneath the Reagan administration's proposed budget cuts in programs for the middle class—college student loans, farm aid, military pensions, etc.—are some very substantial cuts in low-income programs. Over the next few years, nearly one-fifth of the administration's total package of proposed budget cuts would come from low-income programs, even though these programs account for only one-tenth of the total budget, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

A case in point is Women, Infants, and Children, a program that provides food supplements to low-income pregnant women, infants, and young children who are at nutritional risk. Although WIC has been highly praised for its effectiveness in lowering the incidence of low birthweights, one of the leading causes of infant mortality, the administration is proposing to leave in the treasury $76 million of the $1.5 billion that Congress has already appropriated to the program for FY 1985. At least 237,000 of the 3.1 million WIC recipients would lose their benefits this summer as a result.

For FY 1986, the administration has requested only $1.480 billion for WIC. This is less than the amount appropriated last year and less than the $1.569 billion the Congressional Budget Office says is needed to sustain the current WIC caseload. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimates that roughly 175,000 low-income women, infants, and children would have to be dropped from the program.

The administration has proposed shutting down some low-income food programs, including an anti-hunger program that provides $50 million a year to states for distribution to food banks, emergency food agencies, and soup kitchens. Local charities use this aid to cover storage and handling costs of distributing federal surplus foods. The administration would also eliminate a $70 million program that provides funds to charities to help distribute emergency food and shelter to the indigent and homeless.

The administration has also proposed cutbacks in Medicaid over the next three years that are double those of Reagan's first three years in office. Medicaid provides health care coverage for poor families with children and for poor elderly and disabled people.

Black Jobless Rate Up in February

The unemployment rate for blacks jumped to 16.3 percent in February, up from 14.9 percent in January. It had been declining steadily over the previous several months. Nearly all of the increase was for adult men and women.

The increase in black unemployment occurred despite an increase in overall employment in February. The unemployment rate for whites during the same period was 6.2 percent. Officials at the Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that because the monthly figures for blacks vary more than those for whites, it is difficult to tell yet whether the already large gap in black to white unemployment is widening.

The unemployment rate for black youth, 43.1 percent, was virtually unchanged from January, but it is still nearly triple the 15.2 percent unemployment rate for white youth.

JCPS Gets New Director of Marketing

Carl Edward Cook joined the Joint Center's staff as director of marketing in February. He will direct the marketing of JCPS publications, conferences, and other services. Previously, Mr. Cook was manager of the Marketing Division Research and Analysis Department at Blue Cross/Blue Shield in Detroit, Michigan. He has also worked in product planning and marketing for Volkswagen of America, the Ford Motor Company, and the 3M Company.

Legislative Fellowships on Women and Public Policy

The Center for Women in Government offers legislative fellowships on women and public policy to provide an opportunity for graduate students to gain experience in the legislative process and on women's issues. Fellows will work with a legislator or legislative committee in the New York state legislature for 30 hours each week and will complete three seminars on policy making and its impact on women and families. They will earn a stipend of $9,000 and 12 graduate credits for the period from January to July 1986. Applicants must be enrolled in a New York state graduate school, have completed 12 graduate credit hours, and have demonstrated an interest in improving the status of women through their research, employment, or voluntary activities. The program is open to graduate students from all disciplines. The deadline for applications is June 14, 1985.

The Center for Women in Government is a unit of the Institute for Government and Policy Studies, Rockefeller College, at the State University of New York. For more information contact Fredda Merzon, director of training, or Maud Easter, fellowship coordinator, Center for Women in Government, State University of New York at Albany, Draper Hall, Room 302, 1400 Washington Avenue, Albany, New York 12222; telephone, 518/455-6211.

Vote Recount in Indiana Contested

The NAACP has filed a lawsuit in the U.S. District Court charging that a disproportionate number of black votes were disqualified in the contested election for Indiana's 8th Congressional District seat. Following the election in November, Republican Richard D. McIntyre, who lost to Democratic incumbent Frank McCloskey by a slim margin, demanded a recount of the ballots. As a result, several thousand votes were thrown out for minor technical reasons such as the poll clerks' initials or the precinct numbers being absent from the ballot, even though the candidate preference of the voter was clearly identified.

Thirty percent of the votes disqualified were from the 4th Ward in Evansville, where blacks comprise a majority of the residents. In other counties in the district with a very low percentage of blacks, all of the votes were counted, even those without the poll clerks' initials or the precinct numbers. McIntyre gained a 418-vote lead following the recount.

The U.S. House of Representatives has voted to leave Indiana's 8th Congressional District seat vacant until the Committee on House Administration, which is investigating the controversial vote recount in that district, decides which candidate should fill the seat.

. . . Economic Progress

(Continued from page 6)

the public sector. They accounted for 18.5 percent of all federal government jobs, and they made up 13.9 percent of state and local government payrolls. Furthermore, public sector employment accounted for one-fifth of all jobs held by blacks. The corresponding figure for whites was one-eighth.

Jobs held by blacks on public payrolls bring them much higher incomes than they have traditionally earned in the private sector. Whites also earn more in public employment, but the favorable margin is smaller. For the average black male employee, a government position paid $13,979 in 1982—or 22 percent more than the $11,922 average private sector job. But, for the average white male worker, the margin was only 6.7 percent ($19,731 vs. $18,485). Now, however, since the role of the federal government will be shrinking in the future, blacks will have to compete for a larger share of jobs in the private sector.

To make genuine progress in the future, the extremely high incidence of poverty among blacks must be reduced. This is especially true for black families headed by females, for whom the poverty rate in 1983 was 53.8 percent, compared with 28.3 percent for their white counterparts. Reflecting their desperate situation, these female-headed black families (representing 4.6 percent of all families in the nation) got 29.9 percent of all the public assistance and supplemental income in 1983.

A significant part of the public assistance was received as aid to families with dependent children. Many of these black female-headed households contain children who now represent the third generation brought up on public welfare. To arrest—and reverse—this cycle of poverty and dependency, a more vigorous effort must be made by the black community itself to reduce the extremely high birth rate among unmarried black teenage girls.

Federal government policies should also be changed to help alleviate the economic inequality from which blacks continue to suffer. Changes should include the adoption of a two-tier minimum wage, which would help to ease the excessively high levels of unemployment among black youths. A lower wage for youth—75 to 80 percent of the present minimum of $3.35 per hour—would provide an incentive for employers to put more of them on the payroll.

A vigorous campaign of affirmative action to foster job opportunities and career advancement in the private sector is also needed. But such a campaign is no longer the policy of the federal government. In fact, the Reagan administration is engaged in a campaign of active opposition. Consequently, blacks will have to press the fight themselves in the private sector. They will have to make every company personnel office a battle station in a campaign to accelerate the pace of economic progress. The business community must undertake to break down the remaining discriminatory obstacles that limit blacks' economic progress.

And blacks themselves must take advantage of improved opportunities to compete for the new jobs to be created. Successful competition will require much better preparation. The fastest growing occupations will be rooted in science and technology with a heavy reliance on computers and their applications. Traditionally, blacks have been underrepresented in these areas. Thus, if blacks are to get a share of the new jobs commensurate with their increased share of the labor force, they will have to increase dramatically their level of spending on the education of their children.

The magnitude of the individual effort required is illustrated by data on the family income and parents' financial contribution for college students, by race, in 1982. The average income of black families with children in college was $18,200, and the average for whites was $28,900. The average contribution by black families for their children's education was $930. The average white families' contribution was $2,790. Thus, while blacks' income was just over three-fifths the income of white families, the amount blacks contributed for the college education of their children was only one-third as large as the amount contributed by their white counterparts.

In the immediate future, blacks should support the effort in Congress to prevent the Reagan administration from making drastic cuts in federal aid to college students. College education has been a major contributor to the modest economic progress blacks have been able to make, and continued federal aid is needed to sustain this progress in the future.

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Volume 13, No. 5 May, 1985

R5685-4

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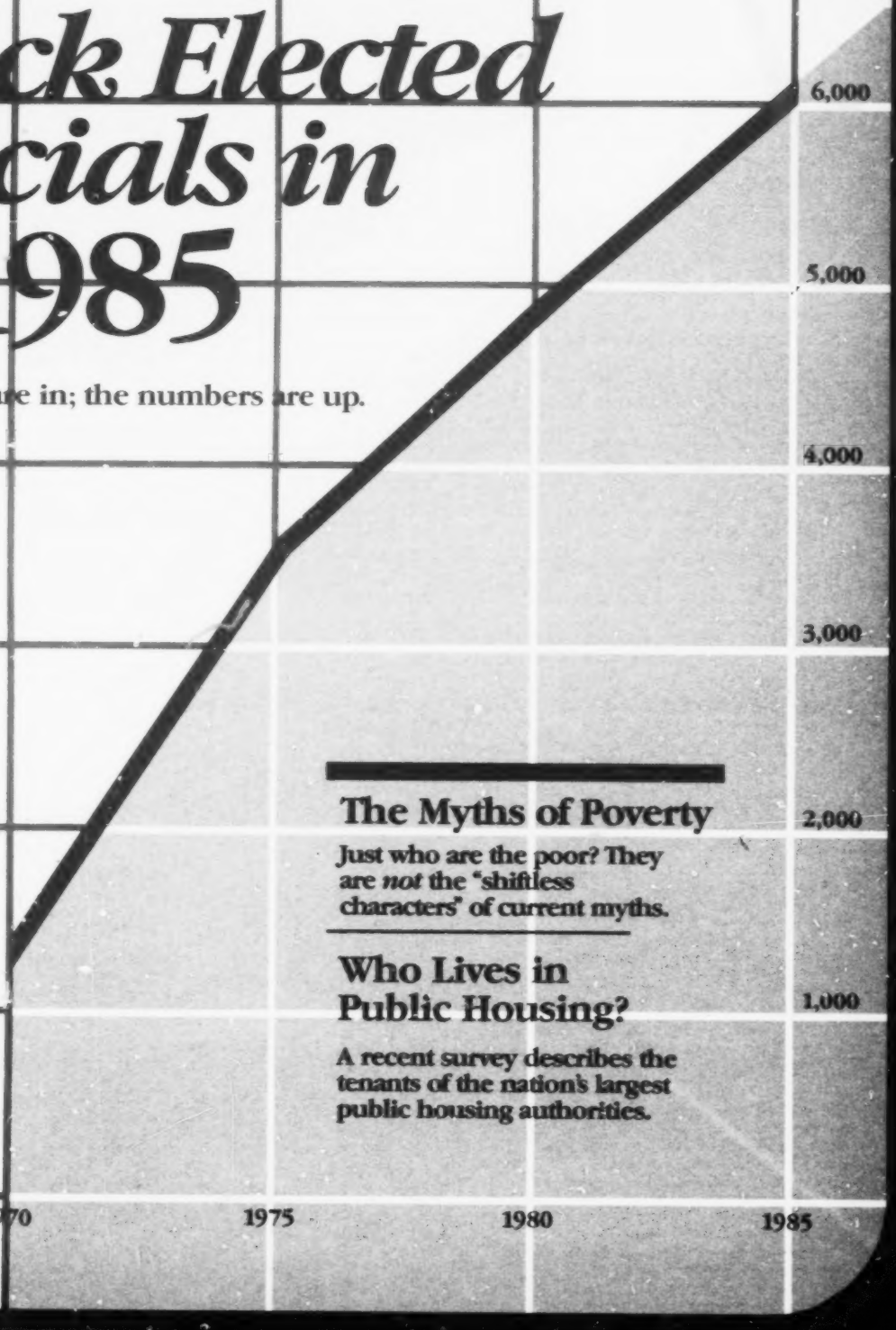
Black Elected Officials in 1985

The data are in; the numbers are up.



The Myths of Poverty

Just who are the poor? They are *not* the "shiftless characters" of current myths.

Who Lives in Public Housing?

A recent survey describes the tenants of the nation's largest public housing authorities.

ISSN 0740-0195

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

In a recent speech, William S. Woodside, chairman and chief executive officer of the American Can Company, stressed the importance of public education and recommended some new initiatives business might undertake to support our schools. Mr. Woodside's remarks were timely and to the point, and I believe they deserve a wider hearing.

He began by noting that school-business partnerships are flourishing throughout the country. Several hundred corporations are involved in such partnerships, the most popular of which is the adopt-a-school program. Other arrangements include: loaned executive programs, in which senior corporate executives work in a specialized area such as administration, staff development, or resource management; curriculum renewal programs, in which corporate specialists work with educators to develop job-related courses of study; mentor programs; and equipment loan programs (which usually involve computers).

Each of these programs is important. They all demonstrate that the business community and the schools are working together for the benefit of public education. Mr. Woodside praised these programs for providing "assistance, opportunity, and support that the schools and their students otherwise might not receive." He went on to say, however, that we deceive ourselves if we believe these programs alone "can dramatically improve the majority of our nation's public schools . . . there are thousands of other schools and hundreds of thousands of children who are not being touched by our efforts."

He recommended that we look beyond individual partnership programs and focus on "system-wide issues because there are vast and fundamental improvements that must be made within our public schools. And we need to focus on the political arena because that is where the major decisions are going to be made about the funds, priorities, and programs that will make or break our system of public education."

Mr. Woodside then cited some examples of effective work in the political arena. "Corporations involved in the Memphis, Tennessee, adopt-a-school program organized a public relations campaign that helped produce an overwhelming vote in favor of a tax increase that provided additional money for that city's school system. Business groups in New Orleans and Cincinnati also have worked to help pass tax levies for the public schools."

The ultimate success of business-school partnerships, he said, will depend on the business community's influence over decisions made in city halls, in state capitols, and in Washington. Real influence will require "more than telling our lobbyists to put in a good word for public education every now and then. . . it will mean organizing ourselves into an active, sustained support mechanism on behalf of public education. It will mean building coalitions that seek major and permanent improvements."

What form might these coalitions take? They could be groupings of like-minded companies similar to the special-purpose coalitions that now exist to further shared goals in such areas as health care, industrial growth, tax reform, and international trade.

The business community, Mr. Woodside said, needs "to play an activist role in Washington because the decisions of Congress and the executive branch will set the tone for the nation as a whole. And we need to play an activist role in the state capitols because they are becoming new centers of power in determining the level of financial and programmatic support our public school systems will enjoy."

Coalition building, public-private partnerships, political involvement; all of these are approaches the Joint Center has recommended to solve some of our most vexing social problems. It is gratifying to me to see that, after studying the problems of public education, the chairman of a major American corporation recommends the same approach. Only through such combined efforts will we develop innovative programs to ensure that the current and future needs of our country will be met.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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The Myths of Poverty

by William P. O'Hare

(Dr. O'Hare is a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

For once, conservatives and liberals agree; the time has come to reexamine the War on Poverty, to acknowledge its shortcomings, and to seek more effective remedies for poverty in America. The Reagan administration, the American Catholic Bishops, and the Joint Center's "Tarrytown Group" of prominent black scholars are just a few of those now ready to challenge old assumptions about causes and cures.

They have their work cut out for them. Public perceptions of poverty are clouded by a set of myths that prevent a true appraisal of the situation. Before we proceed with the debate, those myths should be debunked.

Myth 1. Most poor people are black and most black people are poor.

Neither point is true. The majority of the poor in this country are white, not black or Hispanic. Since the poverty rate for blacks (35.7 percent) is about three times that for whites (12.1 percent), many people mistakenly think that poverty in America is solely or largely a black problem. But 24 million of the 35 million persons in poverty in 1983 were white, and fewer than 10 million were black. About a third of blacks are poor, but two-thirds are not.

Furthermore, poverty is growing more rapidly among whites than blacks. Of the 10 million people added to the poverty population since 1978, almost 8 million were whites. Between 1978 and 1983, the number of whites in poverty grew by 47 percent, compared to 30 percent for blacks.

Myth 2. Most people in poverty live in inner-city ghettos.

In fact, people living in what the Census Bureau calls "poverty areas" of central cities are only 14 percent of the poor. Between 1978 and 1983, 2.5 million white suburbanites were added to the population in poverty, accounting for one quarter of the overall growth in poverty.

Myth 3. Most poor people live in female-headed households.

While it is true that a disproportionate share of poor households are headed by women, the majority of people in poverty live in married-couple families. In 1983, 12.5 million poor people lived in female-headed families, but 15.9 million poor people lived in married-couple families. Furthermore, poverty has been increasing more rapidly among persons in married-couple families than among persons in female-headed families. The number of poor persons living in families headed by females has grown by 30 percent since 1978, but the number of poor in married-couple families grew by 59 percent.

Myth 4. People are poor because they refuse to work.

Most poor people of working age in 1983 were working or looking for work. About 40 percent of poor persons 15 years old or older worked full- or part-time during 1983, and 13 percent said they were looking for work but couldn't find it. Of those in poverty who didn't work, 21 percent were ill or disabled; 17 percent were going to school (mostly high school); 14 percent were retired; 32 percent were keeping house; and 3 percent gave some other reason for not working. Of the 7.6 million families in poverty in 1983, more than half had at least one worker and over 20 percent had two or more workers. A person working 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, at minimum wage ($3.35 per hour) would not earn enough to lift a family of three out of poverty.

Myth 5. Poor people just live off government welfare programs.

Only about one-third of poor families in 1983 received public assistance payments, and about 40 percent of poor households received no major means-tested noncash benefits such as food stamps, free or reduced-price school lunch, public housing, or Medicaid. Only 43 percent of poor households received food stamps; 23 percent lived in publicly owned housing or received rent subsidies from the government; and only 39 percent have one or more members covered by Medicaid. To put these numbers in perspective, about 30 percent of the total U.S. population—poor or not—receives benefits from one or more government programs such as social security, Medicare, railroad retirement, unemployment, veterans' benefits, or workman's compensation.

Myth 6. The poor will always be with us.

Actually, this is two myths in one: first, the share of the population that is poor remains constant, and second, poverty is a permanent condition.

The poverty rate dropped from about 30 percent in 1950 to about 11 percent in 1973. It has now climbed to 15.2 percent. And the conditions of the 1950s and 1960s reduced the poverty rate by about two-thirds without stifling economic growth. As the poverty rate fell from 22.2 percent in 1960 to 12.6 percent in 1970, real median family income grew by 34 percent. Clearly, there is no fixed portion of the population that is doomed to be in poverty.

Nor is poverty necessarily a permanent condition for the individuals who make up the statistics. Although the matter is still open to controversy, recent evidence suggests that most poor people are poor only for a short period of time.

According to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, which has tracked the economic fortunes of 5,000 families since 1968, almost a quarter of the population was poor for one or more years between 1969 and 1978, but only 2.6 percent were poor for eight or more of the ten years. And the same study found that most young adults who came from families that were in poverty and received welfare did not themselves live in poverty or receive welfare. The evidence we have to date seems to indicate that there is very little intergenerational transfer of poverty or welfare dependence.

Myth 7. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Unfortunately, this is not a myth. As the number of people in poverty grew from 24.5 million in 1978 to 35.3 million in 1983, the share of families with incomes over $35,000 (in constant 1983 dollars) grew from 26.7 to 29.6 percent of all families. Furthermore, between 1978 and 1983, the gap between the average income of the poor and the poverty threshold grew from $3,618 to $4,020 (expressed in 1983 dollars).

(Continued on page 7)

6.2 Percent More BEOs in 1985

The number of black elected officials rose by 6.2 percent nationwide last year, reports the Joint Center for Political Studies, which has conducted an annual census of black officials since 1970. Between January 1984 and January 1985, the total number increased from 5,700 to 6,056. Last year's increase was 1.7 percent.

Some 85 percent of the increase took place in the South, which contains 53 percent of the country's black population and 63 percent of all black elected officials. Alabama had a net gain of 61; South Carolina, 47; Georgia, 39; and Louisiana, 37. Louisiana, where 27 percent of the voting-age population is black, remains the state with the largest number of black elected officials—475—followed by Mississippi, with a 31 percent black voting-age population and 444 black officials.

The increases were spread across all levels of office except federal, where Katie Hall's (D-IN) defeat in the May 1984 primary reduced the number of black members of Congress to 20. The number of black mayors increased by 31, to 286—the largest increase of any year since the center began counting. Black elected officials remain disproportionately concentrated in municipal offices—mostly city councils; some 48 percent of black officials are municipal officials, while only 27 percent of all elected officials fall in that category.

Some significant firsts in 1984:

- New York State gained its first black mayor: Ronald A. Blackwood, in Mount Vernon.
- Pennsylvania got its first black woman state senator: Roxanne Jones, from Philadelphia. Yvonne Miller of Norfolk, Virginia, is the first black woman since Reconstruction to win election to the state House of Delegates. Oregon got its first black woman in the state legislature: Margaret Carter, from Portland.
- Alabama elected its first black woman judge, Jo Celeste Pettway.

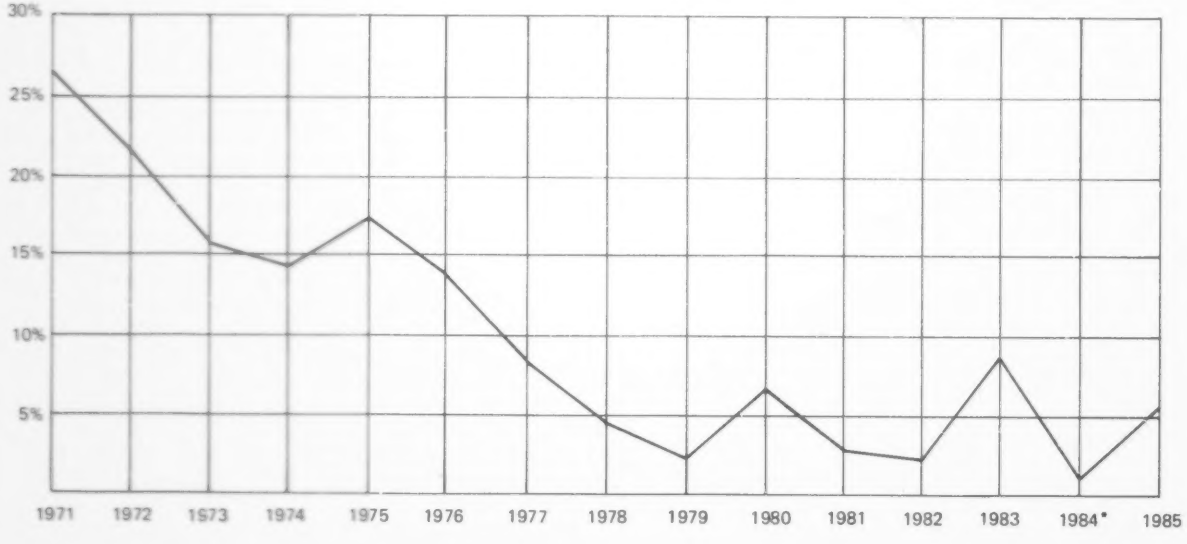
Despite these firsts and the 6.2 percent overall increase, however, blacks still hold only 1.2 percent of the 490,800 elective offices in the country. Black elected officials continue to be concentrated in black majority districts and generally depend on the black electorate for victory.

The number of black women in office continues to grow at a faster rate than the number of black men. In January 1985, there were 1,358 black women in office, an increase of 99, or 8 percent, over the previous year—as compared to a 5.7 percent increase for black male officeholders. Black women now make up 22.4 percent of all blacks in elective office.

Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, comments: "This year's growth in the number of black elected officials makes clear that on its twentieth anniversary, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is still an important tool for expanding black access to the political system. The impressive gains in the South were due, in part, to proceedings under various sections of the act that reduced vote dilution and other discriminatory mechanisms. And, of course, in 1984 we witnessed an unprecedented number of voter registration activities in black communities throughout the country. As voter participation increases, blacks win a greater share of elective offices and thus a stronger voice to defend their own interests."

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1985, which contains detailed statistics and a complete listing of blacks in elective office as of January 31, 1985, will be published in June by UNIPUB. Copies may be ordered by calling 800-521-8110; in Michigan, Canada, Alaska, and Hawaii call 313-761-4700.

Annual rate of increase in number of black elected officials, 1971-1985.



*The 1984 figures reflect blacks who took office during the seven-month period between July 1, 1983 and January 30, 1984.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1985

State	Total	Net Change Since January 1984	Federal		State			Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education				
			Senators	Representatives	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshalls	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials	
Alabama	375	61				5	19			38		14	31	179			2	1	9	20	4	5				47	1
Alaska	3	1					1																			2	
Arizona	11	−3					2			1				4						1						3	
Arkansas	317	21				1	4						21	131			17		1	40					1	101	
California	296	38	4			2	6	4		6	1	1	9	40	5		3	1	74		1				17	121	1
Colorado	15	0				1	2							3					4		1					4	
Connecticut	68	−1			1	3	7						1	34	5		1			3						13	
Delaware	22	0				1	2						1	10												8	
Dist. of Columbia	252	0	1										1	9		232										9	
Florida	167	36				2	10			4	3		11	100	2		1	1	15			1				15	2
Georgia	340	39				6	21			54		4	15	161	1		2		13	2	1	1				57	2
Hawaii	1	0																								1	
Idaho	0	0																									
Illinois	357	−2	3		1	6	14	3		31	1		19	130	39		14		24							70	
Indiana	68	1				2	6			12		1	1	31		3	2		3							7	
Iowa	9	4				1				2				1										1		4	
Kansas	29	2				1	3			2			1	7	1		2		3							9	
Kentucky	55	−2				1	1			1			4	31					2	2		1	1			11	
Louisiana	475	37				4	14			114	2		18	141					6	41	1	11				123	
Maine	1	−1															1										
Maryland	97	6	1			5	19			3			7	41			1	1	11		3					5	
Massachusetts	32	0				1	4			1				14	3											9	
Michigan	300	3	2		1	3	14			24		2	15	73			21		51	4				1	15	74	
Minnesota	9	0					1							3					2			1				2	
Mississippi	444	14				2	18			38	31	5	21	162			6	1	1	64	5	4				79	7
Missouri	156	5	2			3	12			3			13	90			5		8		2	2			2	14	
Montana	0	0																									
Nebraska	4	0				1								1												2	
Nevada	9	−1				1	2			1				2					1	1				1			
New Hampshire	0	0																									
New Jersey	200	4				1	6			8		1	11	87			1									85	
New Mexico	5	−1								1			1	2												1	
New York	246	6	3			4	16			8			2	27	5		1	1	43	1						135	
North Carolina	291	−3				3	13	1		31	1	1	18	144				1	8		2	2				66	
North Dakota	0	0																									
Ohio	196	−3	1			2	10			1			11	94	2		8		27					1		39	
Oklahoma	122	0				2	3			2			16	50			25		1			1				22	
Oregon	11	4				1	2							3	1				2							2	
Pennsylvania	138	−3	1			3	15						4	43			4	1	25	25	1					16	
Rhode Island	8	1				1	3							2												2	
South Carolina	310	47				4	16			56	1	3	13	113	2							3			1	95	3
South Dakota	0	0																									
Tennessee	138	5	1			3	10			48			1	35					11	6		1				22	
Texas	260	32	1			1	13			11			10	107	1				7	19		1		1	4	84	
Utah	1	0				1																					
Vermont	1	0					1																				
Virginia	116	9				2	5			31		5	7	57			2				5	2					
Virgin Islands	40	−6			1	8			24															7			
Washington	16	1				1	2						2	4					2							5	
West Virginia	20	1					1						1	13			2		2	1							
Wisconsin	22	3				1	3			2				9					3			1				3	
Wyoming	3	1					1							1												1	
Total	6,056	356	20		4	90	302	8	24	534	40	37	286	2,189	67	235	121	8	359	230	26	37	1	10	44	1368	16	

Who Lives in Public Housing?

This article is based on A Survey of Tenant Characteristics and Admission and Assignment Policies at the Nation's Large Housing Authorities, *a report published by the Citizens Housing and Planning Association.*

Who will be hardest hit by reductions in federal support for public housing? Elected officials—especially state and local officials in areas with large public housing populations—should know the answer to this question so they can address the needs of constituents who depend on public housing. In May 1984, as an initial step toward describing the nation's public housing population, the Citizens Housing and Planning Association (CHAPA) distributed a survey on tenant characteristics to the nation's 133 largest public housing authorities (those managing over 1,250 units). Sixty-four PHAs or 48 percent of the authorities responded, and responses were received from authorities in every region of the country. Fifteen of the authorities manage over 5,000 units. In all, the responding authorities manage 477,355 units or approximately 40 percent of the nation's public housing stock.

Because each of the authorities surveyed manages 1,250 or more units, the results of the survey reflect the characteristics of large, primarily urban, housing authorities and *not* necessarily those of the nation's entire public housing stock.

In order to encourage the authorities to respond openly, CHAPA agreed not to identify them. However, because the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA) manages almost one-third of the units in the survey, it agreed to be identified so that the impact of its units on the results could be clearly displayed.

Most of the questions on the survey and the survey results focus on the characteristics of the *families rather than the elderly population* in public housing. (78 percent of the units in the survey are family units and 22 percent are elderly units.)

Race in Public Housing

The survey results make it clear that large public housing authorities provide shelter for a predominantly minority population and that the proportion of public housing units occupied by minorities will continue to grow. Of the family units surveyed, only 14 percent are occupied by white families (not including Hispanics) if New York's units are included and under 19 percent if they are not. If the survey results are limited to those PHAs managing over 5,000 units, the percentage of units occupied by minorities increases from 85.90 to 92.80 percent.

Blacks constitute the predominant racial group in family public housing. Currently, they occupy 64.40 percent of the units sampled if New York is included and 68.64 percent if it is not. Hispanic families occupy 17.90 percent of units with New York but only 7.60 percent without it. Asians and others occupy only a very small portion of the total number of units: less than 4 percent overall.

One-quarter (26 percent) of the authorities surveyed have tenant populations in which 90 percent or more units are occupied by blacks; almost 65 percent said that at least 50 percent of their units are occupied by black families. Ten are over 95 percent black; most of these are located in the South.

Assuming that existing policies concerning admission remain largely unchanged, the waiting list population indicates who will be in public housing in the future. New York City is not included in the waiting list analysis.

The proportion of white families on the waiting list for public housing is approximately 7 percentage points below the proportion of whites who now live in public housing: 11.34 vs. 18.79 percent. This means that in the future, the public housing population will contain an even higher proportion of minorities than at present.

As shown in the tables on page 8, the study found significant regional variations in the racial and ethnic compositions of public housing and waiting list populations. (The New York City Housing Authority was not included in the regional analysis.) For example, although the national sample shows that white families currently occupy 14.10 percent of the units and make up 11.34 percent of the families on the waiting list, white families in the South are only 8.46 percent of the resident families and only 6.2 percent of those on the waiting list.

In the Northwest, however, the proportion of white families is not only much greater than it is in the South or nationwide, but it is greater on the waiting list than in the resident population. This indicates that the proportion of whites in the Northwest is likely to increase rather than decrease in the future. White families currently occupy 32.84 percent of the units in that region, and they make up 43.15 percent of the families on the waiting list.

Family Composition and Income

Of the units surveyed, 54 percent are currently occupied by female-headed households if New York City is included and 69 percent if it is not. Eighty-five percent of the responding authorities reported that at least 50 percent of their family units are occupied by families with a female head, while 20 percent reported that 90 percent or more of their units are occupied by families headed by females. (Few authorities maintain information on the characteristics of families on their waiting lists, therefore, it is impossible to develop an accurate estimate of the number of female-headed households on the waiting list for public housing.)

The survey showed that among the responding authorities, 35.50 percent of the household heads are employed if the New York City Housing Authority is included, while only 25.50 percent are employed if New York is not included. This means that almost three-quarters of public housing families are not supported by a working member. Only 4.0 percent of the authorities surveyed had 50 percent or more employed households, while slightly more than one-half reported that fewer than 50 percent of their households were headed by an employed person. The median average income of working families at the authorities surveyed was $7,908.00.

If the New York City Housing Authority is not included, 44 percent of all public housing families receive AFDC payments. If New York City is included, this figure drops to approximately 36. Looking only at

(Continued on page 8)

Telescope

Baltimore Names Circuit Courthouse for Clarence Mitchell, Jr.

On March 8, 1985, Baltimore honored the life and work of Clarence Mitchell, Jr., the noted civil rights leader and a lifelong resident of Baltimore, by naming its Circuit Court building after him. As director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP and chief lobbyist for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, Mitchell helped lead the struggle for passage of the 1957, 1960, and 1964 Civil Rights Acts; the 1965 Voting Rights Act; the 1968 Fair Housing Act; and related measures. He died in March of last year.

Present during the dedication ceremony were U.S. Congressman Parren Mitchell, brother of Clarence Mitchell, Jr.; Supreme Court Justices Thurgood Marshall and William J. Brennan; NAACP Executive Director Benjamin L. Hooks; Baltimore Mayor Donald Schaefer; Maryland Governor Harry Hughes; and Senators Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. and Paul S. Sarbanes.

Faculty Fellowships in Health Care Finance

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation is seeking applicants for the 1986-87 academic year for its fellowship program, which helps develop university faculty to teach and conduct research in the field of health care finance. The fellowship program is administered by the Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions.

The fellowships begin in September with an intensive four-month educational program covering the latest issues, problems, and innovations in health care finance. This is followed by an eight-month placement in a private or public health care financing organization, hospital, or alternative delivery system. Fellows are then eligible to receive up to $15,000 in support of a related research project.

The fellowships are open to faculty in university programs and departments with a strong health care finance and health policy focus, as well as to individuals in health-related disciplines—e.g., public health, health or hospital administration, public policy, public administration, law, business, political science, economics, or medicine—who would like to begin academic careers in health care finance. The deadline for applications is January 20, 1986. For more information and application materials, contact Carl J. Schramm, the program director, at (301) 955-8316.

Councilman Ira Jackson Elected Chief of Atlanta Regional Commission

Atlanta City Councilman Ira Jackson has been elected chairman of the Atlanta Regional Commission, a regional planning and intergovernmental coordination agency created by local governments in the Atlanta area. Jackson is now in his fourth term as a member of the city council and chairs the finance committee. He is third vice president of the Georgia Municipal Association and a member of the National League of Cities' Transportation Policy Committee. He is a past president of the National Association of Regional Councils, an organization composed of some 350 planning bodies from across the country.

Jackson is the second chairman in the history of the Atlanta Regional Commission. He had served as vice chairman under the previous chairman, Ernest Barrett, since 1977 and has been the city council's representative on the commission since the commission's inception in 1971. Most commission members represent suburban areas, and officials in the region hope that the new chairman will bridge the gap that has sometimes existed between the city of Atlanta and the surrounding area.

Blacks on the Bench

The South Carolina General Assembly has elected Circuit Court Judge Ernest Finney, Jr. to fill a seat on the state Supreme Court. Finney is the first black to sit on South Carolina's high court since Reconstruction.

Mississippi, too, now has its first black Supreme Court justice since Reconstruction. This past January, Governor Bill Allain appointed Circuit Court Judge Reuben V. Anderson to the state Supreme Court. Anderson will serve as an appointed justice until the next statewide election, in 1986, when he can run for the remainder of his predecessor's term.

New York Governor Mario Cuomo appointed Justice Fritz W. Alexander II of the Appellate Division of the state Supreme Court to the state Court of Appeals, New York's highest court, in January. Alexander is the first black named to a full term on the court.

The Senate confirmed the Reagan administration's nomination of Ann C. Williams to the post of federal judge in the Northern District of Illinois in April. Ms. Williams, head of the Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force for the North Central Region until going on maternity leave last summer, is the first black woman named to the federal bench by the Reagan administration.

House Committee Allocates AID Funds to Minority Organizations

On April 2, the House Foreign Affairs Committee passed a provision, authored by William H. Gray III, requiring the Agency for International Development (AID) to direct at least 10 percent of its fiscal year 1986 funds to historically black colleges, businesses owned by minorities and women, and minority volunteer agencies. This will enable these groups to participate in the development and administration of AID's housing, education, agriculture, energy, and other development assistance programs overseas. The new provision is similar to an earlier one, also sponsored by Congressman Gray, that allocated 1985 funds to minority colleges and to firms and agencies owned by minorities and women.

Robert L. Hill Named as Vice President of AGA

Robert L. Hill has been named vice president of consumer and urban affairs for the American Gas Association. Hill served for over 10 years as the Director for Human Resources and Public Safety at the National League of Cities and has worked closely with many members of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials.

Myths of Poverty *(Continued from page 3)*

The number of people in poverty is growing and the poor are getting poorer. Poverty is not limited by race, location, or gender. However, history shows that we *can* reduce the level of poverty in America. But only with a realistic picture of the problem will we be able to fairly evaluate the proposals now being debated.

Who Lives in Public Housing?

(Continued from page 6)

extra-large authorities (those managing over 5,000 units) but eliminating New York, one-half of all the families receive AFDC payments. Although a substantial portion of the residents at the authorities surveyed receive AFDC benefits, the survey data are not adequate to calculate the average level of dependence, the average length of time the residents have received assistance, the proportion of recipients who are employed, or the number of recipients who remain at home to care for children under six.

Current Tenant Population in Family Public Housing

	National	Northeast*	North Central	Northwest	South	Southwest
White	14.10	31.40	18.00	32.84	8.46	14.95
Black	64.40	57.12	71.60	25.96	89.50	1.35
Hispanic	17.74	8.20	1.00	24.00	1.35	37.20
Asian	2.16	2.50	6.43	11.51	.05	4.96
Other	1.79	.19	3.41	5.39	.64	10.00

Waiting List Population

	National	Northeast*	North Central	Northwest	South	Southwest
White	11.34	15.86	24.35	43.15	6.62	20.00
Black	77.37	70.13	67.65	34.20	88.83	28.37
Hispanic	6.47	11.57	1.35	2.56	4.09	15.77
Asian	2.43	2.68	5.54	16.40	.23	18.50
Other	1.80	.42	2.00	3.60	.20	16.93

* Does not include New York City Housing Authority.
Note: Due to rounding error, the columns may not add up to 100 percent.

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Volume 13, No. 7

July, 1985

FOCUS

Shirley Chisholm's keynote speech to the National Political Congress of Black Women

Black Women in the Military

There are lots of them. Is anyone paying attention?

New Challenges to Local Economic Regulation

Two Supreme Court decisions make life difficult for local governments.

Redividing the Political Pie

Black women convene in Atlanta to plan an agenda for political empowerment.

ISSN 0740-0195

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

The American media—print and broadcast—are politically powerful. Gary Hart's spectacular rise in popularity and in the polls last year is just one example of how journalism can shape audience views. This immense power makes particularly troublesome the manner in which subtle racial and ethnic prejudices and preferences affect news coverage of politics.

In societies such as the United States, where racial and ethnic cleavages are strong and highly salient in political campaigns, it is especially important to question the effects of the media. Moreover, in a number of other countries, such cleavages are becoming more prominent and are likely to raise many of the same questions.

Jesse Jackson's 1984 presidential bid (to some extent like Gary Hart's) shows the unique capacity of the media both to give life and power to a campaign and to limit or define it in critical ways. Jackson was a made-for-TV personality, and TV was largely responsible for the dramatic gains he achieved in spite of his late entry into the race and lack of funds and technical support. His uncanny ability to use the media and the media's eagerness for dramatic, charismatic personalities in what was otherwise a dull campaign combined to produce for him a "media-driven" campaign.

But the media proved equally effective in freezing Jackson in the public mind as a *black* candidate—interesting, yes, and often surprising, but nevertheless, not a viable *American* candidate for the presidency. Journalists consistently labeled him and presented him as spokesman, advocate, and symbol for blacks. Thus, while the media showed America what a formidable personality Jackson is, the media also effectively limited the context in which people—particularly whites—understood and judged his candidacy. This, I think, contributed at least in a small way to racial polarization.

To be sure, several factors contributed to the peculiar "spin" on media coverage of Jackson. His candidacy emerged against a background of discussions among black leaders over the possibility of a black candidate, as such, running for nomination. The fact that Jackson had not previously held elective office caused journalists to treat him more as a "civil rights leader" than a politician. And the candidate did, of course, champion a number of issues of special concern to blacks and other minorities. But he also championed issues affecting a broader cross-section of the total population.

Race also became a prominent focus in media coverage of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's bid to become governor of California and in mayoral races in Chicago and Philadelphia involving black candidates who ultimately won. In all these cases, the media had to cover black candidates seeking positions not previously held or even seriously pursued by blacks. The media's role must be considered in these cases, not only in terms of their direct references to or treatment of the race of the candidates, but in a host of subtle decisions and judgments with significant implications for public attitudes toward black candidates. Campaign managers also face countless difficult decisions about how to deal with race and ethnicity in the development of campaign strategy.

Thus, the issue of race and ethnicity illuminates a broader set of concerns about the impact of the media in modern democracies. The media can be a powerful force in managing racial or other demographic conflicts and in fostering cross-racial voting. However, they also can be a destructive and divisive instrument in multi-racial societies such as ours. In the short run, solving this problem is a challenge to responsible candidates and journalists.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Black Women in the Military

by James R. Daugherty

(The author is a senior military fellow at the Joint Center.)

All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, runs the title of a recent book by Barbara Smith, mocking the implicit assumptions of most current debates about equal opportunity in American society. The participants in such debates usually concern themselves only with the circumstances of white women or black men, virtually ignoring the special plight of black women. In recent debates over the composition of the U.S. Armed Forces, for example, the Joint Center and others have focused attention on the overrepresentation of blacks in the military, and debate has flared over questions about women in the services ever since the initiation of the all-volunteer force (AVF) in 1973, but no one has focused on the extreme overrepresentation of *black women* in the military and what it means for society, for the services, or for the women themselves.

Focus on Black Women

The numbers are striking. Population figures for fiscal year 1984 reveal that 28.9 percent of all enlisted women were black and 42 percent of enlisted women in the army were black. While the number of enlisted personnel remained constant over the past decade (1.8 million), the number of enlisted women has nearly tripled (from 61,000 to 172,000), and the number of black enlisted women has increased almost five-fold (from 10,000 to 49,000).

A recent survey by the Department of Defense reveals that young black women are three times more likely than their white counterparts to join the services. Black women are more likely to complete their first tour of service and also to sign up for additional service. These rather startling statistics have received little attention. Why? As Army Sergeant Major James Dandy said at a recent JCPS meeting on the subject, "We simply do not have a problem attracting or keeping the number of qualified women we need, black or white. We do not study non-problems."

The sergeant major's remarks notwithstanding, the Joint Center recently brought together a diverse group of scholars, military officers, and policy analysts to consider the status of black women in the military. Participants included retired Army General Hazel Johnson-Brown, the first black female general; Navy Captain Frank Gamboa, the director of the Defense Department's Equal Opportunity Office; feminist scholar Cynthia Enloe, and Carolyn Becraft of the Women's Equity Action League.

Although the number of black women in the service may suggest there are no problems for the military, the figures do raise some general questions. Why do black women find military service such an attractive option? Is there a lack of opportunity for these women in the work force? Betty Woody, an economist at Wellesley College, has found black women overrepresented in narrow bands of civilian industry: they are 40 percent of the work force in nonprofit industries such as health and education and 30 percent in predominantly blue-collar industries such as hotel, building maintenance, and retail food sales. Faced with civilian occupations that offer little chance of advancement, many black women deem the military a more attractive option. Explicit performance criteria inform them of what is expected and they may sense that the racial and sexual prejudices that affect advancement in the civilian sector are less salient in the services.

Are black women advancing or learning skills that will be useful outside the military? Combat exclusion rules limit opportunities for women to serve in some jobs that are important for career development. And women are still clustered in the traditionally female occupations of medical and administrative support; black women even more so than white women are shunted to these fields. Little is known about female veterans' experiences in the work force but the Labor Department has taken some interest in this subject and has initiated two studies of the issue.

The following questions are still awaiting preliminary responses. Just how different are black women's experiences in the military from those of white women? What can the military learn from its relative success with black women? How can the lessons be used to increase the chances for success of black men, white women, and the AVF as a whole?

As is often the case in the early exploration of an issue, there are many more questions than answers. Yet there are also some facts to consider. A shrinking pool of recruits necessitates that we make some significant changes in the manpower policies of the armed forces, and these changes could have exaggerated effects on the recruitment of black males and black and white females (see January 1985 *Focus*). We should find answers to some of the many questions about black women in the military before making any such changes.

Black enlisted women as a percentage of all enlisted women, selected years

		1974	Percentage	1979	Percentage	1984	Percentage
Army	All women	26,320		54,815		66,664	
	Black women	5,455	20.7	18,916	34.5	28,019	42.0
Navy	All women	13,143		24,751		41,579	
	Black Women	1,261	9.6	3,190	12.9	7,862	18.9
Marines	All women	2,402		5,501		8,577	
	Black women	411	17.1	1,171	21.3	2,108	24.6
Air Force	All Women	19,463		45,954		55,339	
	Black Women	3,236	16.6	7,990	17.4	11,775	21.3
Total	**All women**	**61,328**		**131,021**		**172,159**	
	Black women	**10,363**	**16.9**	**31,266**	**23.9**	**49,764**	**28.9**

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center

New Challenges to Local Economic

by Robert E. Suggs

(Mr. Suggs, a corporate attorney, is a senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Over the past several years, two federal statutes—the Sherman Act and the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act of 1970 (RICO)—have been applied by courts to the policies and practices of local governments. Previously, those local policies had been considered exempt from statutes designed to control *private* economic activity. But both statutes are now being broadly interpreted by the courts, and since they allow plaintiffs to recover treble damages, they provide a great incentive for private litigants to sue local governments and extort favorable settlements even in the absence of wrongdoing.

These statutes, as applied to local governments, usually involve decisions affecting economic and business interests, so they are becoming an important limit on local governments' ability to guide, control, and influence economic activity within their jurisdictions. Curiously, these recent court rulings run counter to the philosophy of the Reagan administration, which advocates the shifting of governmental responsibility from the federal to the local level.

The RICO statute was originally intended to prevent organized crime from moving into legitimate businesses; its application to public entities is less well developed and more uncertain than such application of the Sherman Act. Since 1981, however, there has been an explosive increase in the number of RICO suits. We cannot predict future applications of the statute with certainty, but clearly, when it is applied to public entities, the financial consequences for local governments are likely to be serious.

The constraints both the Sherman and RICO statutes impose on local governments are especially cumbersome as federal budget cutbacks require local economies to rely more heavily on local resources and policies for revitalization and expansion. At a time when the need for local policy and regulatory initiatives is growing, local economic controls are increasingly likely to be ruled invalid and may also expose jurisdictions to budget-busting liabilities.

Applying the Sherman Act to Local Governments

The critical decision applying the Sherman Act to local governments was the 1982 *Boulder* decision by the Supreme Court. In *Boulder,* the Court held that only state governments could claim sovereign immunity from the reach of the Sherman Act, the century-old antitrust statute prohibiting agreements that "restrain trade." Governmental entities below the state level, from general purpose units such as counties to special purpose entities such as sewer districts, remain fully subject to the statute.

In the case against the city of Boulder, a cable television company, in response to technological advances, sought to expand its service area in the city, where it had previously operated without competition. The city responded by enacting a moratorium on such an expansion while it drafted a cable television ordinance and invited new firms to enter the business and submit competing bids. The already established company claimed the moratorium restrained trade in violation of the Sherman Act and sued the city. The city's defense was a claim of governmental immunity.

While the Supreme Court did *not* find that Boulder had violated the Sherman Act, it ruled that governmental immunity was a defense available only to state governments and sent the case back to the lower court. Lesser jurisdictions were immune only if they acted to implement a clearly articulated state policy to replace competition with regulation. Since local government actions are different from the business activities to which antitrust prohibitions were traditionally applied, this opinion created much confusion and uncertainty.

The Supreme Court has called the Sherman Act "the Magna Carta of free enterprise," and in the economic realm, it is treated almost as if it were a constitutional provision. Potentially, it can apply to any economic transaction or decision. Unlike regulatory statutes, it is not a lengthy, detailed piece of legislation accompained by volumes of administrative regulations. Rather, like a constitutional provision, it is short and general, and it has been left to the courts to flesh out its substance with interpretations. Consequently, its application evolves to meet new circumstances as society, technology, and the economy change.

The importance of the Sherman Act is further enhanced by the severe penalties it imposes. In criminal cases, fines may be as high as $1 million and imprisonment up to 3 years. In civil suits, plaintiffs can recover three times their actual damages plus attorneys' fees. After *Boulder,* lawsuits were filed against local governments challenging everything from municipal zoning decisions to procurement and licensing practices. Since public officials were found personally liable in some cases, these suits had an especially chilling effect. The most notorious lawsuit resulted in a jury verdict awarding $28.5 million to a developer against a town of 5,500 people and against its mayor personally. In all, more than 200 suits have been filed in federal courts as plaintiffs have sought to discover the limits of this new weapon against city regulation and business restrictions.

In 1984, Congress finally acted to stem the tide of litigation by enacting the Local Government Antitrust Act, which gives some protection to local governments but much less to public officials. This new law restricts the antitrust remedies available against local governments, but it does nothing to absolve them from liability. Its principal effect is to remove the major incentive for antitrust suits against local governments—treble-damage recoveries. However, plaintiffs can still seek injunctions to compel cities to remove certain business restrictions or regulations. Attorneys' fees can still be recovered when a plaintiff succeeds in obtaining such an injunction. But such suits will probably be brought only in the more egregious situations.

Public officials do remain exposed to personal liability for treble damages. The act grants immunity only to public officials acting in their "official capacity." Conflicts of interest, where officials receive some private benefit from the challenged action or ordinance, and actions or decisions that violate state law and thus arguably cannot be "official," present situations in which public officials will probably be deemed to be acting outside of their "official capacity." Zoning and procurement decisions, where conflicts of interest and violations of state law sometimes

arise, are the types of actions that can produce grievances resulting in treble-damage claims.

Private persons and firms are even more exposed to treble-damage liability than public officials. Only if the decision or ordinance under which they act has been adopted by officials in their "official capacity," *and* if their own specific course of conduct has been taken at the direction of the local government or official acting in an "official capacity" and under the active supervision of the local government, can they claim exemption from the Sherman Act. These requirements, of course, are still open to considerable interpretation.

The standard for exemption from injunctive relief was refined earlier this year in *Town of Hallie.* In the *Hallie* case, a town sued an incorporated city, asserting that the city had acquired a monopoly over sewage treatment service and had violated the Sherman Act by refusing to extend sewer treatment service to unincorporated towns unless they agreed to be annexed and use the city's sewage collection and transportation services. The state statute authorized the city to refuse service to unincorporated areas.

The Supreme Court said that for the actions of a local government to be exempt from the Sherman Act, the government must demonstrate that its anticompetitive activities were authorized by the state under a clear policy of displacing competition with regulation or monopoly services. The statutory grant of authority must be specific enough that the challenged anticompetitive conduct is clearly a foreseeable result of the statute. A general grant of authority, such as one authorizing home rule, is not enough. Furthermore, the anticompetitive effects must logically result from the authority granted and not merely be allowed by it. In many instances, this standard is still far from clear, but in *Hallie* the Court found the state statute sufficient to satisfy the exemption requirement.

Nevertheless, the Sherman Act remains an important constraint on the powers of local government. Despite the push for federal deregulation and the increasing reliance by municipalities on their own resources and initiatives, any attempt by local governments to tinker with market forces is fraught with peril. Municipal governments risk only injunctions prohibiting their actions. But public officials enacting local regulations and private parties acting in reliance on them must still weigh the prospect of treble damages and personal liability.

State antitrust laws modeled after the Sherman Act also bear mentioning as a further antitrust constraint. Some of these laws expressly incorporate federal precedents. Courts may interpret these laws to require state legislative exemptions to confer state antitrust immunity on local governments. The nature of the law in any particular jurisdiction at any given moment is thus problematic, to say the least.

RICO

The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act likewise threatens local governments although it was originally aimed at private parties. Enacted in 1970 with the purpose of eradicating organized crime, the RICO statute, like the Sherman Act, provides a civil remedy of treble damages as an incentive to encourage private enforcement. Today, however, most defendants in civil RICO suits have no connection with what is generally considered to be "organized crime." And although it may seem incongruous that a local government, as opposed to individual public officials, could violate such a law, a number of courts have held that governments below the state level are not immune.

Most suits so far have applied RICO to public officials involved in illegal activity such as bribery, but the prospect of enormous financial rewards for plaintiffs with economic grievances against local governments will probably result in suits seeking to discover the outer limits of interpretation of this statute. A public official or public entity can violate RICO by conducting an "enterprise" through a "pattern of racketeering activity," and a private plaintiff may recover treble damages and attorneys' fees for an injury to its business or property. The requisite "pattern" may exist if the plaintiff can show that public officials violated certain federal and state criminal statutes twice in the previous 10 years.

As with the Sherman Act, a RICO suit seeking damages from a local government will probably involve a public official acting illegally or subject to a conflict of interest or other questionable behavior that may appear fraudulent. RICO liability for damages may never be imposed on local governments; it will be years before the risks are clarified by court decisions. Until then, the burden that RICO suits impose, with the provisions for treble damages and attorneys' fees, can be used to extort favorable settlements, and the prospect of such suits could tend to discourage bold or controversial local government policies.

The RICO and Sherman Acts can be used to attack a wide variety of government policies and practices. In response to complaints from local governments, Congress acted to curtail the adverse impact of the Sherman Act. Similar congressional action may be needed on RICO if local officials are to feel free to undertake the new policy and regulatory initiatives necessary to manage the economic activity in their jurisdictions.

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Redividing the Political Pie

by Julie E. Dade

(Ms. Dade is director of Programs for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation.)

In an atmosphere that was part animated political convention and part spirited revival, more than 400 black women, representing 29 states, met recently in Atlanta to convene the first national assembly of the National Political Congress of Black Women. Founded just 10 months ago, the group, which is dedicated to the political empowerment of black women, has already recruited 2,000 members, established a national office, and helped fund the election of Alyce Griffen Clark—the first black woman to serve in the Mississippi Senate.

Why a Black Women's Group?

The foundation of this unique organization was laid during the 1984 presidential campaign. Black women played a major role in boosting black voter participation from 60 percent in 1980 to 66.3 percent in 1984—the largest increase ever among black voters, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Particularly impressive was the increase in black women's participation. Not only were 69.5 percent of black women registered in 1984 (compared to 62.2 percent in 1980), but the increase in turnout from 52.8 percent in 1980 to 59.2 percent was the largest percentage increase of any subgroup in the nation.

Despite these achievements, however, 1984 was also a year when black women were again overlooked. They were overlooked by presidential contender Walter Mondale, who failed even to consider a black woman for the historic vice-presidential sweepstakes; by Republicans at their Dallas convention, who relied on television coverage alone to portray their commitment to women, both black and white; and by journalists, who in examining the power of the vote, divided voters into the following subgroups: white men, white women, Hispanics, and blacks, failing to take into account the distinctness of black women—and, for that matter, Hispanic women. These events were among many that persuaded black women to organize themselves to seek their slice of the political pie.

With this goal in mind, organizers of the assembly structured it to provide participants with an opportunity to obtain needed political skills and information. Workshops offered presentations by politicians, political experts, and emerging leaders, who covered in broad strokes the how-to's of raising funds, running for office, dealing with the media, and seeking appointments. These workshops were augmented with others on specific issues led by specialists in the fields of educational reform, employment and training, and civil rights. These issue-oriented forums brought participants up-to-date on current and proposed legislation.

At the close of the assembly, the participants drafted and passed 68 resolutions, which they plan to put into action at the state and local levels of government. In fact, local members have already begun moving forward to turn ideals into action. Executive board member Shirley Wilcher of Maryland is encouraged by what she sees on the local level, and she notes that the "Maryland chapters are very politically savvy and direct. They are already looking at congressional seats. The National Congress galvanized black women who had been looking for ways to move into public office."

An Organization for All Black Women

The organization's commitment to include all black women is demonstrated by the makeup of its national board, which was elected by the membership. As one participant noted, "Who could have envisioned an organization led by such diverse women as C. Delores Tucker (vice chair), the head of the Democratic party's Black Caucus; Gloria Toote (second vice chair), a prominent black Republican; and board members Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and Angela Davis, activist and California State University professor." Certainly, the election of such a diverse leadership is evidence of a positive beginning.

And the women in attendance saw no chance of the National Congress becoming just another support group or one rendered ineffective by extreme partisan leanings. Said Phildelphia councilwoman Augusta Clarke, "I'm glad to be a part of a group that is avowedly, unabashedly, and unshamefully a political organization. We're in existence because we are for the political power of black women—Democrats, Republicans, and independents; our uniqueness is that this group is diverse and independent and we speak for all women." Board member Antoinette Ford, a Republican assistant adminstrator at the Agency for International Development, echoed the sentiments of a fellow Republican, Kansas City, Missouri, councilwoman Joanne Collins, who said "I took great pride in my participation with the many powerful black women of the National Political Congress of Black Women. I feel that under the leadership of Shirley Chisholm, C. Delores Tucker, and Gloria Toote, we will be a powerful force for positive change."

In the months ahead, the National Congress must focus on building an effective network across the country in order to groom candidates and raise the funds necessary to play a role in national politics. There are plans for intensive training sessions, the compilation of talent lists of black women political technicians, activists, and potential candidates. The ability to move money to attractive candidates is crucial. Reports by groups such as the Center for American Women in Politics at Rutgers University cite a marked increase in legislation on issues of particular concern to women (civil rights, education, and spousal rights, for example) now that more women are seeking and winning election to state offices.

Vice chair C. Delores Tucker has already identified a fundraising goal of $10 million by the year 2000 to help elect more black women to political office. Although some may see this as an overly optimistic goal, many of the members have raised thousands of dollars for other worthy causes.

Maintaining a focus on the goal of political empowerment is key to the long-term success of the National Political Congress of Black Women. Shirley Chisholm, unanimously elected chair of the National Congress, clearly stated the mandate for the organization when she said, "Black women must no longer allow themselves to be complacent recipients of whatever morals or politics the leaders of this nation decree for us."

Telescope

Keeping Families Together

Keeping Families Together: The Case for Family Preservation, a study published recently by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, advocates family preservation programs as a more humane alternative to foster placement. The study shows how preservation programs have proved successful in preventing unnecessary out-of-home placement by providing intensive, in-home family therapy and helping families obtain life's necessities such as food and housing. Instead of removing children from their families, the entire family's troubles are addressed directly. The study also examines some controversial fiscal and legal issues that surround preservation programs.

Who are the children in foster care? According to the study, "A high proportion of the children in foster care come from poor families, whose problematic family dynamics are compounded by the conditions of their poverty.... Minority children, overrepresented below the poverty line, are also overrepresented in foster care. So are children of single mothers."

Author Maya Angelou, in her introduction to the study, underscores the dilemma surrounding foster care versus family preservation programs. "Our organizations can take a child from a nonsupportive nuclear family, but to what end? Wouldn't we show our intelligence and concern more effectively if, rather than removing the child, we worked together with the entire family in order to create a healthy unit?"

Copies of *Keeping Families Together* can be obtained, free of charge, by sending a self-addressed mailing label to the Office of Communications, Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, 250 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

State Senator Wilder Runs for VA Lieutenant Governor

Virginia Democrats have nominated state Senator Lawrence Douglas Wilder for the office of lieutenant governor. He is the first black ever nominated by a major party for that office in the South. When Wilder was first elected to the Senate in 1969 from Virginia's ninth district, he became the first black person to serve in that body since Reconstruction. Wilder heads a number of Senate committees, including the Steering Committee, the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, and the governor's Regulatory Reform Advisory Board. He has authored many innovative laws, such as the state's fair housing statute and its first law prohibiting the sale of drug paraphernalia. He was the moving force behind Virginia's institution of a holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Wilder is credited with opening up appointments to the executive and judicial branches of government to all Virginians.

NAPFE Endorses Subminimum Wage Bill for Youth

The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees has endorsed the Youth Employment Opportunity Wage Act of 1985, which will create thousands of summer jobs for youth aged 19 and under at a pay rate of $2.50 per hour. In sharp contrast, other labor unions have opposed a subminimum wage for youth during the summer months.

NAPFE President Robert L. White explained the union's decision: "First, youth unemployment is a major problem. The excessively high rate of unemployment among black teens is a national disgrace. No program to date has stemmed the tide of runaway youth unemployment. Clearly, our youth need job opportunities. And YEOW promises to create 400,000 summer jobs for youth.... Many youth lack adequate skills to earn the minimum wage. The YEOW program will give youth a foot in the door. The YEOW wage rate is a floor, not a ceiling. A youth's first job leads to another job. We cannot afford to trap our youth in a lifetime of joblessness."

Marcus Alexis and Eleanor Holmes Norton to Head JCPS Task Forces on Economic and Social Issues

Marcus Alexis, professor of economics at Northwestern University, has been selected chairperson of the Joint Center's Economic Policy Task Force. The Economic Policy Task Force was established recently to help the center shape its research agenda on economic policy issues of special concern to blacks and other minorities. Other members of the task force and their affiliations are James H. Carr, U.S. Senate Budget Committee; Wendell Wilkie Gunn, Arthur D. Laffer & Associates; Donald Harris, Stanford University; John Jeffries, New York University; C. Robert Kemp, Opportunity Funding Corporation; Glenn C. Loury, Harvard University; Margaret Simms, the Urban Institute; Warren Whatley, University of Michigan; and Rhonda Williams, University of Texas at Austin.

Eleanor Holmes Norton, professor at the Georgetown University Law School, has been selected chairperson of the Joint Center's Social Policy Task Force, which was formed to help the center shape its social policy research agenda. The other members of this task force are Bernard Gifford, University of California at Berkeley; Joyce Ladner, Howard University; Georgia McMurray, Community Service Society; Richard P. Nathan, Princeton University; John Oglou, University of California at Berkeley; Gary Orfield, University of Chicago; Roger Wilkins, Institute for Policy Studies; Franklin Wilson, University of Wisconsin; and William Wilson, University of Chicago.

Both task forces will meet at least annually to consider the results of policy research undertaken by or under the auspices of the Joint Center, advise on specific studies that should be undertaken by the center, and develop statements on major policy questions.

Bernard Rapoport Joins JCPS Board of Governors

Bernard Rapoport, chairman of the American Income Life Insurance Company, has joined the Joint Center's board of governors. Previously, Rapoport served as chairman of the United Negro College Fund and of United Way of Waco, Texas. He is currently a member of several boards, including those of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America; the Hebrew Union College; The Jerusalem Foundation, Inc.; the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; and the Mexican American Legal Defense Educational Fund.

The Seeds of Freedom

by Shirley Chisholm

(Ms. Chisholm, a former U.S. congresswoman, chairs the National Political Congress of Black Women. What follows is an abbreviated version of the keynote speech Ms. Chisholm delivered at the group's first annual conference in early June, described on p. 6.)

Black women in the latter part of this century have come to the realization that our time has come. I remember about 22 or 23 years ago, I mentioned to some of my black sisters that it would be very, very necessary for us to bring ourselves together and for us to speak out forcefully and assertively on matters that concern the black family, specifically, our children. And I remember so vividly how many of our sisters said at the time, "Shirley, we cannot move in that direction. We cannot move in that direction because certain elements in the society would begin to question our motivation."

How interesting it is to note that whenever white women begin to organize themselves, whenever white men begin to organize themselves and black men begin to organize themselves, there is not that kind of concern, and that kind of question as to the motivation. But when black women begin to organize themselves, everybody sits up and takes notice and wants to know, "What are you all up to?" I sincerely believe that the reason so many persons become deeply concerned about the potential emergence of the black woman in this country is because they know that we are resilient, we are strong, we have the stamina, the audacity, the courage, the perseverance, the determination, and that if indeed the sisters ever get to the point where we can have faith in God and confidence in self, we can change this country.

The seeds of freedom are tough. They may lie dormant for a long time, but then one day they begin to sprout. Today, the black woman deserves nothing less than full equality, which is supposedly the birthright of every American, white or black. As Dr. King has aptly said, we are through with tokenism and gradualism and "see how far you have comism." We can't wait any longer. Now is the time. Each day brings a new mountain to climb, a new disaster to solve, and a new fear to accept and conquer. When the day comes that there is nothing to battle, my sisters, that day is the day you lay yourselves down and just die.

For as long as we live, we fight; we fight for a living, for a new way of life, for a spiritual blessing, and for hope and strength. We fight for better health so we can continue to fight harder. And the first battle, my sisters, is won when we fight for belief in ourselves and find that it has come to us while we are still battling. If you have never known the power of believing, you have never really lived. The moment you are standing on the hilltop, lord of all you survey, and no one—neither your worst enemy nor your best friend—can destroy your spirit, you are then exalted to gain strength for the future in that brief encounter with greatness. We must all work toward that end so that we may make our belief permanent.

Whatever else the black woman is, she is an American. Whatever she is to become—integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated—she will become it in America. It is true we are concerned about our present plight but we measure America rather by her potential than by her achievement.

Dr. Kenneth Clark has said, "There is no point in talk." I would put that another way. I would have said there is no point in jawboning—regardless of how poetic it may be—about whether the black man wants to integrate with America, because we are involved so inextricably with America that sensible black men and women accept it as a mandate. And we, as sensible black women, accept it as a mandate to work for a change that is written in the way of things.

At this historic moment in our lives, the great precedents of the founding of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896 and the National Council of Black Women in 1935 are certainly in our minds; let us now continue the unfinished agenda of the black woman.

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